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ABSTRACT

Television's impact on children is the focus of this document, which includes a review of the research on the subject, a master bibliography containing 3,000 items written between 1955 and the present, and 13 specialized bibliographies. Specific topics addressed include violence and its effects, prosocial television, socialization, television advertising, role portrayals, educational television and cognitive development, audience patterns, viewing processes, and public policy and private action. A bibliography of bibliographies is also included, as well as a listing of materials written since 1975. The items listed in the master bibliography are presented with full bibliographic information and a key line indicating the specialized bibliographies under which that item will be found. Only three of the specialized bibliographies, however, include full bibliographic citations; the rest include only the author and date of publication in order to conserve space. (LLS)

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television & youth

25 Years of Research & Controversy

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John P. Murray

Foreword by
Alberta E. Siegel

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For Ann who has shared many "glorious days and fun-filled nights" of television viewing.

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Foreword

Do children learn from television? Are some children more drawn to television than others? Do infants and toddlers attend to television? Which television formats are most effective with children? Does behavior in TV shows provide a model for the behavior of a child? Does advertising on television affect children? Do children obtain a "release" or "purging" of their emotions from their vicarious involvement in TV shows? Does the content of television entertainment affect a child's conception of her own sex role? Does it affect her conception of other people's sex roles? Which activities in a child's life are displaced or replaced by TV-watching? Does watching a lot of television affect a child's ability to read? Does it affect his preference for reading? Does it affect the amount of time he usually spends with books? How does TV watching fit into family life? Within the family, who chooses the programs to be watched? Do children accept the racial stereotypes they see on TV? Do they accept the national and religious stereotypes? Do children in different socioeconomic statuses typically have different habits of watching TV? Do intelligent children differ from dull children in their use of TV? Which program formats do children prefer? Which techniques of TV production increase children's interest and attentiveness? Can young children watch TV while simultaneously engaging in activities not related to TV? Do children accept the stereotypes of occupations presented on TV?

Research has been directed to each of these questions, as well as to other questions about television and youth. Some of the questions provide the basis for an entire research literature. For some of these research questions, we have answers which are specific to different developmental stages. For some, we have separate answers from different nations. For some, we have research evidence from two different decades, the 1960's and the 1970's, and for some the evidence spans three decades, reaching back into the 1950's.

The research has been conducted by investigators from several different scholarly disciplines. Psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, and educators are represented in the cadre of research workers who have studied TV and children. Also included are "communications researchers," members of a hybrid discipline which now has its own graduate schools and scholarly journals.

This diverse group of investigators has published research in many places. Each scholarly discipline has its own set of scholarly journals for scientific communication, and research on television and children may be found in journals published for pediatricians, for psychologists, for educators, for psychiatrists, for early childhood educators, etc. As well, there are research reports appearing in books instead of journals. And there are many research reports in government documents.

Research on television and children has been conducted in several nations. The investigators have published their findings in journals and books addressed to their own countrymen.

This multi-discipline and multi-national effort, spanning three decades, imposes special burdens on the person who wishes to discover what has been learned from all this research. That person will welcome this bibliography. It will be used by persons in the broadcasting and television industry. It will be used by educators. The scholar writing a textbook in child development, sociology, or pediatrics will find it indispensable. So will the graduate student preparing to conduct dissertation research and seeking to build on the findings of others and to avoid duplication of effort. Child advocates will find this collection useful. Most grateful of all will be the research workers currently active in this field, in the United States and abroad. Few of them can be aware of the avalanche of writing on their topic in the past several years.

The person seeking to master the research literature will be aided by several scholarly reviews that have appeared in recent years. These reviews typically append a lengthy list of references to the primary literature. None of those lists is as exhaustive as Dr. Murray's. A volume of new reviews will be published in 1981 by Dr. David Pearl of the National Institute of Mental Health and his colleagues, as part of our effort to up-date the Report to the Surgeon General on the basis of ten more years of research. All future authors of reviews will be in Dr. Murray's debt for his work in assembling this bibliography.

The single most impressive fact about this bibliography is its length. It covers a twenty-five year span of research. Nearly three thousand separate contributions are cited. Not all of these are original reports of research, but many are. Also included are research reviews and commentaries on research, as well as

discussions of the policy implications of research for the industry, for educators, for physicians, for parents, for the government, and for all of us who are concerned with the well being of children.

The second most impressive fact about this bibliography is the secular trend it reveals. There has been an explosion of writing on this topic in the past five years—60% of all the entries are from that short period.

Also impressive is the diversity of the sources. This literature is based on the work of many disciplines, and on work in many nations. As noted earlier, this diversity is a primary reason that Dr. Murray's volume is needed.

Television was introduced commercially in the United States after World War II. Questions about its effects on children arose immediately. It was evident that children are drawn to television. TV-watching was displacing or supplanting other valued activities for children. By the early 1950's, few thoughtful persons concerned with the family could ignore the presence of a new family member in the home: the TV set.

Almost immediately there was some research on television and children. Major books appeared in the United States and abroad in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Concern about violence on television and its possible effects on aggressive and violent behavior in society was a major motivation for the research. It was expressed by many individuals and also by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, appointed by President Johnson in response to the tragic assassinations in the Spring of 1968 and chaired by Dr. Milton Eisenhower. I consulted with the Commission's Task Force on Mass Media and Violence, and prepared a chapter for its 1969 volume on that topic.

Concern about television violence was also expressed by Senator John O. Pastore, whose efforts led the U.S. Surgeon General to establish a Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, on which I served. Dr. Murray was one of the key members of the staff for that committee. We not only reviewed the existing research literature but we sponsored new studies. Elsewhere I have commented in detail on that effort (Siegel, 1975). Here I wish merely to remark that one of the principal outcomes of the Committee's work was that a new generation of research workers was spawned and nurtured. Dr. Murray is among them, and in the years subsequent to the preparation of our Report his writings on our topic have been illuminating and provocative. Our Report appeared in 1972, and I believe it may be said to have created a new impetus for research on its topic. The avalanche of writing in the 1970's appears to have resulted in part from that impetus.

We are fortunate to have Dr. Murray's catalog of that writing as well as his own summary and evaluation of it in this volume.

Alberta E. Siegel
Professor of Psychology
Stanford University School of Medicine

November, 1980.

Preface

As a student of television's impact on children, I long have felt the need for a publication that would provide a comprehensive listing of research and commentary. Several important previous bibliographies have been focused on this issue, most notably those produced by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior (Atkin, Murray, and Nayman, 1971) and The Rand Corporation (Comstock and Fisher, 1975). However, since these were published, the rate and scope of publications concerning television and youth have expanded exponentially. For example, when the Surgeon General's bibliography was prepared there were only 285 core citations. The Rand bibliography added approximately 900 new citations. In contrast, the current bibliography contains 2886 citations—60% of this material has been published during the five years since 1975.

The present volume is an attempt to provide a review of the English-language publications from Australia, Great Britain, Europe, and Scandinavia, as well as North America. In addition, approximately 15% of the references are drawn from non-English language sources. However, the result admittedly is still largely North American in flavour. This is so for two reasons. First, in surveying the world's research literature on television and youth, there is a predominance of research emanating from the United States (particularly in relation to the effects of televised violence). Second, the major resources for information retrieval serving this effort were English-language and North-American based. The result is a benefit and a deficit for the reader. Most of the 3000 citations contained in the bibliography will be readily available to the English-speaking reader and the 400 non-English language reports are likely to be moderately accessible. The deficit is obvious: This book is not a comprehensive survey of the *world's* literature on television and youth. This will be remedied next year by the publication of a companion volume: "Television and Youth: International Perspectives on Theory and Research," which will survey the non-English language research and commentary. This second volume will be jointly undertaken by Boys Town and the International Association for Mass Communication Research in association with UNESCO.

Why now? The time to rekindle the dialogue about television and youth is upon us now; the pressure for decisions about the future of children's television is mounting and technological changes are moving at a rapid rate. In the United States, several important reviews and decision-making processes are underway: The Federal Communications Commission (1980) is deliberating a proposal initiated by Action for Children's Television in 1971 and renewed in 1978 (Action for Children's Television, 1978), that would significantly change the nature of children's television programming; the Federal Trade Commission (1978) is considering a regulation which would severely restrict the amount and type of television advertising seen by children; and the United States Surgeon General is reviewing the impact of television on children and youth ten years after his initial inquiry (Pearl, Bouthilet, and Lazar, 1980). It seems timely to pull together relevent research and commentary in a manner that will facilitate informed discussion and decisions.

This publication is designed to be of most direct value to researchers, broadcasters, legislators, and others involved in evaluating television's impact on children and youth and in contemplating the directions for further research and action. However, these people are not the only actors in this "drama"—parents have an important role to play and a vital stake in the outcome of the current deliberations. Therefore, a companion publication, mercifully briefer, entitled "Children and Television: A Primer for Parents" attempts to describe the current state of research; the issues confronting parents, broadcasters, and legislators; and how parents can become involved in this process. These publications, I believe, help to fulfill the basic goal of dissemination at the Center—to interpret research in the service of children, youth, and families.

J.P.M.

Boys Town, Nebraska
October, 1980.

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This project could not have been completed without the help and support of numerous contributors. My colleagues in the Research Use and Public Service Division at the Center, Tom Gregory and Bob McCall, have been a constant source of support and encouragement. The bibliography could not have been undertaken without the excellent resources of the Center's Library Services Division, and especially the skilled information retrieval efforts of Donna Richardson. The overwhelming task of typing, retyping, and re-retyping these pages fell on the shoulders of Marilyn Pittillo and Mary Pat Roy, without whose cheerful help this manuscript would never have emerged from the Word Processing Division. Translating the 3000 odd citations into an alphabetical Master Bibliography and re-sorting these references into the 13 Specialized Bibliographies is a task which would have consumed many months of my life were it not for the nimble programming skills of Dave Chapin and Leo Collins in the Research Computing Division. As this material began to emerge in its final state, Pat Mordeson's good-natured and vigilant proofreading greatly assisted my weary eyes, and Barbara Lonnborg's wise editorial counsel will greatly assist the reader's eyes. Finally, Linda Meigs was the peripatetic graphic artist who designed the cover and layout, and even corrected galley proofs from her hospital bed while giving birth to her new daughter Kate.

In closing, I should like to thank several colleagues, geographically distant but psychologically close, whose thoughts and comments have played a major role in the formation of this review and bibliography: Susan Kippax, a collaborator of many years, whose insights on audience patterns and the process of effects are reflected in this review; Gavriel Salomon and Andy Collins, who have been constant tutors for my understanding of children's understanding of television; and George Comstock and Eli Rubinstein, two confreres from the Surgeon General's study, who were early influences on my thoughts about television and children. Finally, I should like to thank Alberta Siegel, a member of the Surgeon General's Committee and currently a kindred soul at the Boys Town Center for the Study of Youth Development (WEST) at Stanford University, who has agreed to pen a foreword to this volume.

PART I

Television & Youth: A Review of Research, Commentary & Controversy.

Introduction

It is always difficult to establish a clear starting point when developing a review of research in any given area; "television and youth" is no exception. However, in the course of assembling the bibliography which accompanies this review it was apparent that studies of television's impact on children and youth became more frequent in the literature in the mid-1950's. To be sure, some important initial studies were conducted in the late forties and early fifties, and there were some methodologically relevant studies of the impact of movies conducted in the 1930's, but the main projects were begun or published in the late fifties.

The 1955 starting date was chosen because it was the year that Paul Lazarsfeld, like the boy who "saw through" the emperor's new clothes, openly talked about our lack of knowledge concerning television's impact on children. In his testimony before a United States congressional investigative committee, he admitted that we knew little about the general effects of television on children and even less about the specific effects of televised crime and violence on juvenile delinquency—the focus of the committee's investigation (Lazarsfeld, 1955; United States Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1955). Lazarsfeld noted that there were several brilliant and dedicated researchers working on these topics but that no concerted, coordinated research effort was underway on television and youth. The proposed remedies included increased support for research on all aspects of television's impact and, in particular, coordinated research programs which could undertake longitudinal studies of the role that the medium plays in children's lives. Similar concerns about the impact of television and films were being voiced in other countries (e.g., Australia, Report of the Royal Commission on Television, 1954; United Kingdom, Committee on Children and the Cinema, 1950) and the calls for more research became louder and more frequent.

In the 25 years of formal history of "television and youth," a vast amount of research, numerous commentaries, and many weighty volumes of testimony before dozens of committees and commissions have been placed in the public record. The gaps and problem areas noted by earlier scholars such as Lazarsfeld still exist to some extent (e.g., we have very few longitudinal studies of television's impact) but many of the unknown areas have been charted. True, there is much to be studied and technological developments in the television industry require constant adaptation of research findings. Nevertheless, we know considerably more now than we did in the 1950's and it seems worthwhile to pause and reflect on the directions for future research and action.

Unlike many other areas of research in the social sciences, studies of the impact of television frequently have been designed to inform social policy. Indeed, it is this policy potential which has made the topic of television and youth such a stormy area for researchers and public alike. Perhaps some broad guidelines for all policy-oriented studies can be gleaned from a review of research on television. An attempt to consolidate our knowledge on this topic seems timely because in recent years the attitudes and positions of the major adversaries—broadcasters and public—have changed, and a new dialogue is needed.

To begin the dialogue, this review will be focused upon the major controversial issues which must be faced in assessing television's impact on children and youth. And, it would seem logical to begin the inquiry by reviewing the findings on children's understanding of television—how they come to comprehend the grammar and syntax of the television form. Following on this, one can ask about the ways in which television influences the young viewer, the process of effects, and the child's role as an active or passive participant in viewing. Next, the review will address the substantive issues of televised violence and advertising followed by the more recent research on the impact of prosocial television programming. The suggestion that the television world is not isomorphic with the worlds in which the viewers live will be assessed by reviewing content analyses of violent acts and the portrayal of social, sexual, and ethnic roles on television. Finally, in the concluding sections, one can raise questions about the policy implications of this largely policy-oriented body of literature. Indeed, drawing upon the large amount of commentary by critics and fans collected in the concluding section of the bibliography, it is possible to suggest guidelines for public policy and private action—hither, thither, and yon.

Understanding Television

Until quite recently, much of the research on the topic of children and television has been focused upon the effects of particular content on the child's attitudes, values, and behavior. And most of the studies in this area have been directed towards an evaluation of the impact of televised violence on children's aggression (Murray & Kippax, 1979). This traditional approach has been called "evaluative" research because the emphasis has been placed upon assessing the impact of a particular program after it has been produced or broadcast. However, some reviewers (e.g., Lesser, 1974; Palmer, 1973) have suggested that a more fruitful approach to studying, and changing, television's influence should include the collaboration of researchers and producers in evaluating the effectiveness of a particular program or type of content while it is still in the production stage. This "formative" research would provide feedback to the production staff who could modify the program to achieve the desired effect(s). In addition to the production of more effective television programs, this formative research could provide basic information on the ways in which children come to "understand" this medium.

This section will review the small but growing body of research, both formative and evaluative, which provides information on how and why children attend to television, the types of cognitive skills which seem to be facilitated or disrupted by television, and the ways in which children develop "media literacy" as a result of their ardent viewing.

The research literature on children's understanding of television has a fairly short history. Most of the early studies and research topics have their origins in research conducted during the development of *Sesame Street*. However, it should be noted that there was also an independent and somewhat simultaneous growth of interest in developing alternative children's programs in several European and Scandinavian countries. Therefore, this review will attempt to reflect the diverse contributions of researchers from various countries to the task of understanding television.

Attention

What are the factors that affect the amount of attention that children devote to a television program? Are these attentional factors intrinsic to the program, intrinsic to the viewer, or an interactive process? When do children begin to watch television and is the child's viewing pattern variable throughout childhood? On the face of it, one would imagine that these important and straightforward questions would have generated a considerable body of research during the 25 years that television has been with us, but it would seem that researchers have only begun to "pay attention to attention" in the recent past.

Some of the early American research, conducted during the development of *Sesame Street* (Lesser, 1974; Palmer, 1973), was designed to measure the holding power of various segments or "bits" of the programs. This "attention potential" was evaluated by presenting the videotaped sections of a program in competition with an ever-changing, distracting slide series positioned to one side of the television monitor. As a result of these "distractor-tests" (Palmer, 1973), segments were either included or modified until they were maximally appealing. From these initial studies, it appeared that music, loudness of the auditory signal, and pacing of the visual material might be some of the more important aspects of program content which led to increased attentiveness. However, a more detailed investigation of some aspects of one pilot episode of *Sesame Street* by Anderson and his colleagues (Anderson & Levin, 1976; Levin & Anderson, 1976) suggested a broad range of program characteristics that are associated with increased attention by viewers aged one to four years; namely, the presence of women, children, puppets, eye contact, peculiar voices, animation, movement, lively music, rhyming, repetition, and alliteration. The factors that were associated with depressed attention were: presence of men, animals, inactivity, and still drawings. In addition, the parental reports of amount of home television viewing and observations of attention to television in the laboratory, both indicate a steady increase in attention to television from one to four years, with a marked increase occurring around 2.5 years.

A micro-analysis of the factors affecting attention and processing of television content is provided by some other American studies of children's eye movements while watching segments of *Sesame Street* (Flagg, 1977, 1978; Flagg, Allen, Geer & Scinto, 1976). Flagg and her colleagues recorded the moment-to-moment eye movements of children while they viewed segments of a program in order to obtain "real-time, rapid, continuous indicators of the viewer's visual attention and processing." On the basis of these scan patterns, Flagg et al. (1976) suggested that factors such as the size of an object, activity, pace, proximity of items, position on the screen, visual complexity, and the use of dialogue will affect attention in varying ways. For example, if one wishes to attract attention to an item, one of the best methods is to animate it. However, Flagg cautions that there appear to be upper and lower limits to the effectiveness of animation (e.g., attention is diminished if the activity is not sufficiently structured for the eyes to follow the movement). Similarly, increasing the pace is one way to attract attention but, again, Flagg (1977) cautions that if the pace is too fast, "... the viewer may tend to centrate and let the visual display pass under his gaze or the viewer will fixate in an apparently random pattern" (p. 60).

In addition to the findings from these very detailed analyses of television viewing, one might ask whether the television stimulus, as a total experience, is a compelling medium. We know, from various studies and informal reports, that television viewing begins quite early in the child's life—as early as one year according to Anderson and Levin (1976) or even as early as four months among the precocious "minimal listeners" observed in an Italian study (Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1975). But how compelling is this medium on a day-to-day basis? Several naturalistic observations of the patterns of home television viewing of children in Sweden (von Feilitzen, 1972) and the United States (Bechtel, Archelpohl & Akers, 1972; Murray, 1972) have indicated that attention to the screen is highly variable throughout the duration of the viewing period. Moreover, the families in the Bechtel et al. (1972) study watched far less television, as a result of off-and-on viewing, than they were led to believe and report. In addition, recent studies of the viewing patterns of children and adults in a laboratory setting (Anderson, 1977, 1979; Anderson, Alwitt, Pugzles-Lorch & Levin, in press; Anderson, Levin & Sanders, 1977) suggest that viewers tend to lock-in to the screen in a pattern that Anderson and his associates describe as "attentional inertia." In investigating attentional fluctuations in children's television viewing, these researchers hypothesized that looking at the screen should continue as long as there is no external distraction and providing that there is no extremely "boring" event being portrayed on the screen. To evaluate this hypothesis, they calculated the conditional probability of continued looking as a function of duration of the current look. If looking vs. not looking at the screen is controlled by distraction/boredom, then the function would be flat. On the other hand, if fatigue is a factor in the continuation or termination of looking, the function should be a declining function. However, what the researchers found with young children was an *increasing* function. In other words, the longer these children had been looking, the greater the probability of continued looking. In addition to these studies of 3- to 5-year-olds, Anderson and his colleagues (Anderson, Levin & Sanders, 1977) replicated this pattern with a small sample of university students. These findings on attentional inertia suggest that we still have a formidable research program to conduct on the very basic aspects of television viewing.

Cognitive Skills and Television Content

There are two types of general questions that have been asked concerning television and the development of cognition or cognitive skills. The first question deals with the impact of television *content* on children's cognitive development, learning capacity, or fund of general knowledge. The second type of question concerns the impact of the *formal* characteristics of television (e.g., mode of presentation, camera techniques, pace, or structure, etc.) on the development of children's cognitive skills. This latter area has been described as "media literacy," and the results of research in this area will be discussed in a subsequent section. This section will be devoted to studies of the impact of the global content characteristics (rather than specific content contained in particular types of programs) on children's intellectual development.

The early studies which were conducted during the periods when television was being introduced in

Australia (Campbell & Keogh, 1972), England (Himmelweit, Oppenheim & Vince, 1958), Japan (Furu, 1962) and North America (Schramm, Lyle & Parker, 1961) reported that heavy viewers tended to be children who were less bright than the lighter viewers. However, these studies did not determine whether television was a cause of poor academic performance or whether duller children were simply more likely to find more comfort in television than their more gifted peers. More recent studies have begun to suggest that television viewing may be a possible cause of disturbed learning potential.

In one series of studies conducted in three Canadian towns with varying types of television experience and before and after the introduction of television in one town (Williams, 1977), television viewing seemed to lead to reductions in reading skills and verbal fluency. In the first study, Corteen (1977) evaluated the performance of children in Grades 2, 3, and 8 on standardized measures of reading skills in a town which had both public and commercial television (Multitel), only public television (Unitel) and no access to television (Notel). The children were evaluated at Time 1 and again at Time 2 which was two years after the introduction of television in the former Notel now Newtel. Corteen found that at Time 1 the children in Grades 2 and 3 in Notel were superior to their peers in Unitel who were, in turn, superior to their peers in Multitel. At Time 2, the original sample was retested and an age-cohort sample was added. The results of both longitudinal and cross-sectional analyses indicated that the level of reading skills in Grades 2 and 3 in Notel/Newtel had significantly deteriorated to the level of their peers in both Unitel and Multitel.

In a related Canadian study, Harrison & Williams (1977) assessed television's impact on children's vocabulary, visual-spatial ability, and creativity. The results indicated that the introduction of television did not affect children's general range of word knowledge or spatial abilities but it was associated with significant deterioration in children's creative verbal fluency. Thus, at Time 1 (before television), children in Notel had significantly higher mean verbal fluency scores than their peers in either Unitel or Multitel. However, at Time 2 there was no difference in verbal fluency across the three towns. This resulted from the fact that the only town which changed from Time 1 to Time 2 was the Notel/Newtel in which there were significant decreases down to the level of the other two towns. The authors suggest that these decreases were caused by television's displacement of verbal activities. This displacement hypothesis is partially supported by the reports of significant displacement of *comic book* reading in Australia (Murray & Kippax, 1978), England (Himmelweit, Oppenheim & Vince, 1958), North America (Schramm, Lyle & Parker, 1961) and Scotland (Brown, Cramond & Wilde, 1974) and/or reading *books* in Japan (Furu, 1962, 1971) and Norway (Werner, 1961) when television was available.

In Japan, the relationship of television and cognitive skills was elaborated by Furu's (1977) study of the effects of the *amount* of viewing, *types* of programs, and preference for *informative* vs. *commercial* television channels on the cognitive style and conceptual tempo of 10- to 11-year-olds. Cognitive style (i.e., field-dependence/independence) was assessed by the Embedded Figures Test (EFT) while conceptual style (i.e., analytic/nonanalytic and reflective/impulsive) was assessed by the Conceptual Style Test (CST). In addition, Furu obtained measures of general intellectual ability and emotional adjustment. The findings from the first year of the study indicated that simple *amount* of viewing was not related to cognitive style and conceptual tempo, but those fifth graders who preferred to view the *commercial* channels were more field-dependent, nonanalytic, and impulsive while those who preferred to view the public, *informative* channels were more field-independent and reflective. Furu suggests that the tempo increase in relation to commercial channel preference is due to the high frequency of advertisements and cartoons which are fast-paced. This suggestion is supported by the finding that girls who watched more action/entertainment programs (e.g., *McCloud*) and cartoons were more impulsive and field-dependent. In addition, personality factors interact with the amount of viewing to the extent that girls who were emotionally unstable or socially maladjusted became more field-dependent as the sheer amount of television viewing increased, while boys who manifested high general activity, were more nonanalytic with increased television viewing.

It should be noted that all of Furu's findings described above are correlational and do not permit the establishment of cause-and-effect relations. However, Furu reassessed the viewing patterns and cognitive

styles of these children one year later when they were in Grade 6. The reevaluation permitted the assessment of causal-correlational relations based upon the cross-lagged correlations across a 10-month timespan. The pattern of the time-series correlations between preference for educational/informative vs. commercial channels and cognitive style and conceptual tempo for fifth and sixth grade boys are presented in Figures 1a and 1b, respectively. The important feature in both figures is the fact that the only significant time-lagged correlations (following the procedure recommended by Kenny, 1972) indicate that preference for commercial channels at age 10 caused these boys to be more field-dependent and impulsive at age 11. Moreover, these relationships were not altered by entertaining "third-variable" hypotheses. Specifically, the influence of child-rearing styles on both viewing and cognitive behavior, as measured by an assessment of family communication patterns (Chaffee & McLeod, 1972), did not modify the casual relations described in Figure 1.

When we turn to the influence of the amount of television viewing on school grades there is again some recent evidence of negative effects. Gadberry (1977) assessed the viewing patterns and academic performance of 6- to 11-year-old boys and girls from predominantly middle-class, New York families. The children's viewing patterns (both amount of viewing and program types) and school grades (both academic marks and effort marks) were obtained at two time periods separated by 18 months. Gadberry found that the average weekly viewing was around 17 hours and that sex and achievement level were not associated with markedly different viewing habits. However, content preferences differed across the age groups. When the effect of viewing time on school grades was assessed for the combined age groups, the amount of viewing significantly influenced effort grades. Moreover, the pattern of time-lagged correlations between amount of viewing and academic effort (evaluated according to procedures outlined by Kenny, 1972, 1975) indicated that increased television viewing at Time 1 caused decreased academic effort during the subsequent school year ($r = -.28$, $p < .01$). The effects of the specific content viewed depended upon age and achievement level: (a) for the youngest group (6 to 7), viewing children's educational and cartoon programs increased academic grades but viewing comedies and action/adventure programs caused their subsequent academic performance to deteriorate; and (b) low-achiever grades were increased by viewing educational and cartoon programs while higher-achiever's grades were increased by viewing public affairs programs.

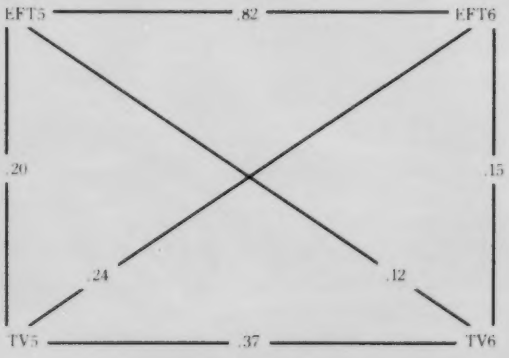

Figure 1a.
Simultaneous and sequential correlations for television viewing and cognitive style.
Source: Furu (1977).

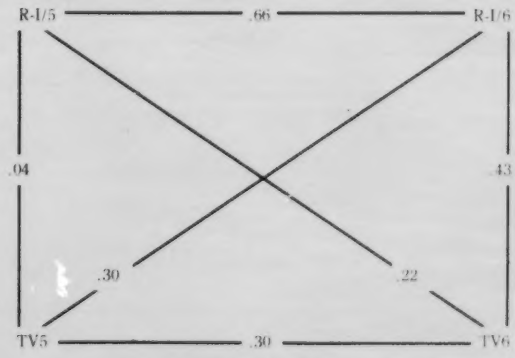

Figure 1b.
Simultaneous and sequential correlations for television viewing and conceptual tempo.
Source: Furu (1977).

Media Literacy

Another relatively recent trend in research on television and youth is an expanding interest in studying the ways in which children come to understand the conventions of television or the "language" of the medium. For example, Collins and his associates (Collins, in press, 1980, 1979, 1975, 1973, 1970; Collins, Berndt & Hess, 1974; Collins & Getz, 1976; Collins & Westby, 1977) have studied the development of children's understanding of the structure of television programs and have found that young children are unable to follow the intricacies of plot development and tend to perceive action units as sufficient and unrelated to the eventual outcome. When they presented kindergarteners, second, fifth and eighth grade children with an aggressive television program and, following viewing, interviewed these children concerning their understanding of the plot, motives of the main character, and the consequences that accrued to the character as a result of his or her actions, they found that comprehension varied dramatically as a function of the viewer's age. The youngest children could only recall isolated aspects of the program; usually they remembered the aggressive act but never the reasons for the act nor what happened to the perpetrator. On the other hand, as one moved across the age span, the older children remembered first the motives, then the consequences and finally, among the 10- to 13-year-olds, the full dramatic context. Although Collins and his associates were studying American children, these same issues have been the object of considerable theoretical and research effort in Germany and Scandinavia.

In Germany, Sturm (1976), a researcher/producer at the Internationales Zentralinstitut fur das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen, has been attempting to apply Piagetian concepts to the production of television programs for children. She has suggested that one very basic notion which has been overlooked in the development of many children's programs is the operation of accommodation and assimilation in the child's attempt to understand and incorporate the program content into his or her existing cognitive structure. In practical terms, this means that the creative production staff must be aware of the range of knowledge that the age group for whom the program is designed already possesses and then merge the already known with the unknown.

Other major research and theory development in the evaluation of young children's understanding of television comes from a continuing research program, begun in 1969, at Sveriges Radio in Sweden (Rydin & Hansson, 1970; Rydin, 1972/1976, 1976; Faith-Ell, von Feilitzen, Filipson, Rydin & Schyller, 1976). Rydin and her colleagues have been investigating preschool children's understanding of informative/educational programs in an effort to tailor these programs to the information-processing capacity of these young viewers. As a result of the general interest in preschool programming which was stimulated by *Sesame Street*, Sveriges Radio produced the successful but controversial program *Five Ants are More than Four Elephants*. The preschoolers and their parents seemed to enjoy the program but educators and other critics claimed that the "pace was too fast and the content was 'packaged knowledge' out of context which would not stimulate deeper, activating processes within the young viewers" (Faith-Ell, von Feilitzen, Filipson, Rydin & Schyller, 1976, p. 8). These criticisms stimulated a review of available research on the information-processing capacities of young children (Rydin & Hansson, 1970) and an attempt to relate these findings on non-television material to the development of a radio and television program, *The Tale of the Seed* (Rydin, 1972/1976). One major aspect of this study was an assessment of children's understanding and retention of information when it was accompanied by irrelevant material. In an earlier study, using the radio version of this program, Rydin (1972) found that repetition enhanced learning and retention but irrelevant details neither increased nor decreased children's retention of the factual material. However, in the later study, using a television version (Rydin, 1972/1976), the inclusion of irrelevant details resulted in reduced ability to remember the factual material. Younger children (five years) were more upset when the irrelevant material was more central to the factual material, while older children (seven years) were more upset by the lack of agreement between audio and visual (e.g., when irrelevant verbal information was not illustrated in the visual display). In subsequent application and extension of these findings, Rydin (1976) suggests that one of the major problems inherent in much of the television programming of the Western world, for both children

and adults, is the fragmentation of the sequence of the program. Thus, the viewer is unable to move with the flow of the program. She also points out that this fragmentation is the result of the domination of much of the Western world's television by commercial interests: "The commercial tv-networks have definitely dictated a type of programme based on numerous short sequences, not because of children's lacking ability to concentrate, but because advertising can be more easily inserted" (Rydin, 1976, pp. 32–33). This suggestion raises the possibility that there are aspects of the television experience which exert an influence on the viewer which is quite independent of the content of the program; that the formal features, including camera techniques, pace, etc., also may be an important source of effects. We have encountered and discussed some of these effects in the study of Japanese children (Furu, 1977) and in the results of studies conducted on American children by Anderson (e.g., Anderson & Levin, 1976; Levin & Anderson, 1976) and Flagg (1977, 1978), but additional information concerning media literacy is provided by several Israeli studies.

Salomon (1972, 1974a, 1974b), in Israel, has studied the extent to which the viewer of film and television can internalize an externally presented filmic technique and use it as part of his or her repertoire of cognitive skills. Some of the early research questions that Salomon posed were: (a) can a filmic technique such as "zoom-in" teach a child who has difficulty in discriminating salient cues to attend more selectively; and (b) can slow-motion techniques help an impulsive child to develop a more reflective mental pace? To address these questions Salomon (1974a, 1974b) conducted a series of studies in which the effects of the filmic technique of zooming-in was modeled. In two experiments, children were exposed to a film of a Breughel painting in which there were frequent zoom-ins on various small details, while another group of children were exposed to a "short-circuiting" (SC) procedure in which they saw the details of the painting on slides, but not the operation of zooming-in. The children were pre- and post-tested on cue-attendance and verbal ability and the results indicated that the children who had seen the filmic zoom were superior to the SC children and control (no-experience) groups on cue-attendance. However, this effect was not replicated in a second study and the author suggests that this nonreplication was due to the fact that the number of zooms had been reduced from 80 in the first study to 42 in the second study. These early studies provided the background for the field study of the effects of watching *Sesame Street* on various cognitive skills such as decreases in field-dependence and egocentrism. It was hypothesized that since *Sesame Street* modeled cognitive skills and media literacy, and Israeli children were never exposed to these skills on television, then these children might be very susceptible to this new media "language." The results of this study (Salomon, 1977, 1979) suggest that *Sesame Street* did, indeed, modify the cognitive style (i.e., increased field-independence) and cognitive tempo (i.e., increased analytic approach) of those Israeli children who were extensive viewers.

In a subsequent study, Salomon (1977, 1979) presented fifth grade children with one of four films which contained an identical plot but were filmed with an emphasis on different filmic techniques: (a) *fragmentation of space* (shots filmed from various angles which required the viewer to synthesize the multiple perspectives); (b) *logical gaps* in the plot; (c) *close-ups and long shots;* and (d) *zooming-in and out.* The children were pretested on various cognitive skills which were related to the filmic techniques such as visual memory, part-whole relations, visual and verbal tests of closing gaps. Then the children were post-tested on specific and general knowledge of details of the film. The results indicated that certain filmic techniques such as close-ups "call upon" preexisting cognitive skills (e.g., based upon pretest performance on related skills such as visual memory), which other filmic techniques, such as zooming "supplant" the viewer's cognitive skills (i.e., the information transmitted by zooming technique overcomes the limitations of the viewer's cognitive repertoire).

One final study in this series (Salomon, 1979, 1977, 1976) was a cross-cultural comparison of American and Israeli children's media literacy skills. Salomon hypothesized that middle-class American fourth and fifth grade children would have more exposure to television than their counterparts in Israel (because there is more broadcast time available in the United States than in Israel). Also, those who have more exposure to television ("Literate Exposure") should possess greater media literacy with regard to the language of

television. When Salomon compared the television viewing patterns of American and Israeli children, he was surprised to find that Israeli children, with far less available television than their American peers, viewed more than the American agemates. Fourth graders in the U.S. and Israel viewed 51 and 64 minutes per day, respectively. Among the sixth graders, the same trend appeared but was not significant (i.e., 74 and 77.5 minutes per day, respectively). However, the major finding was the fact that increased Literate Exposure was associated with increased mastery of media-related cognitive skills (i.e., greater media literacy) for *Israeli children only*. There were no significant relationships between television viewing and media literacy for American children. Salomon suggests that this discrepancy is related to the qualitative differences in the nature of television viewing in a television-experienced country such as the United States vs. a country in which television is a novelty. And this novelty hypothesis is supported by studies of television's impact on social behavior in new vs. established television towns in Australia (Murray & Kippax, 1978) and Canada (Williams, 1977; Joy, Kimball & Zabrach, 1977).

Additional research on media literacy can be found in the work of Stein and Wright (1977) and Wright, Calvert, Huston-Stein & Watkins (1980) in the United States. These researchers assessed the range of formal features such as action, pace, camera techniques, audio effects or special visual effects contained in Saturday morning television programs. In one study (Stein & Wright, 1977), they identified three types of programs: Short-cartoons, lasting six to ten minutes, with very simple plot; longer animated programs lasting 18 to 24 minutes, with more complex plots (e.g., *Tarzan*); and live programs that are of equivalent length to the long-animations (e.g., *SHAZAM*). Moreover, they noted that these three different categories appealed to different age groups: Short cartoons appealed to 3- to 5-year-olds; longer animation and live programs appealed to 6- to 12-year-olds. In further analyses, Stein and Wright found that the formal characteristics differed according to program types. The short cartoons contained higher levels of action, pace variability, and special visual effects than the other programs designed for older school children. The authors speculated that the *formal* features of a program may be more important than the *content* for the younger children while the reverse holds for school-age children. Some support for this notion can be found in the fact that Salomon (1977, 1979) noted that the impact of formal characteristics on media literacy was greatest for the younger viewers.

Conclusions

The results of both formative and evaluative research support the conclusion that television can exert a powerful influence on the young viewer in ways that are quite independent of the particular content that is portrayed on the screen. True, certain features that may be related to specific content such as animation, the presence of adult females, or special audio effects, appear to be important influences but these features are best considered as formal rather than content characteristics (e.g., Anderson & Levin, 1976; Flagg, 1977, 1978). In addition, it has been noted that the simple availability of television in a community (e.g., Corteen, 1977; Harrison & Williams, 1977) is associated with disruptions in the young child's verbal skills. Moreover, viewing extensive amounts of television can lead to a reduction in the amount of effort applied to academic tasks (Gadberry, 1977) while viewing a particular genre of programming which is characteristic of commercial television may result in more impulsive and field-dependent cognitive tempo and style (Furu, 1977).

On the other hand, Gadberry (1977) points out that viewing particular (although differing) program content can be beneficial to the academic performance of both low-achievers and their more gifted peers. Similarly, Salomon (1979, 1976, 1974a, 1974b) has suggested that particular aspects of the formal characteristics of television can facilitate cognitive skills. And in this regard, Collins (1980, 1979, 1975, 1970) and Rydin (1976; Rydin & Hansson, 1970) have begun to describe children's processing of information portrayed on television.

Perhaps the most striking conclusion that can be drawn from the present review is the observation that researchers are just beginning to develop a new "literacy" with regard to children's understanding of television.

The Process of Effects

Most of the research on the topic of television and children has been focused upon the "effects" rather than the "uses" of television. The research question asked most often is: "What does television do to. . . ?" However, one could also pose the question: "What does the viewer do to (or with) television?" It is this second question which provides the focus of research reviewed in this section.

Audience Needs

An audience is composed of a wide variety of individuals who presumably espouse a wide variety of reasons for turning to television, radio, or print for viewing, listening, or reading. The uses and gratifications approach was evolved in an attempt to explore the manner in which the audience member uses specific media, or specific content within a medium, to gratify particular needs, goals, or expectations. One of the first attempts was Herzog's (1944) investigation of the gratifications derived from listening to radio soap operas. Herzog found that the American housewives she interviewed expressed three main reasons for listening: to experience emotional release; to engage in fantasy or wishful thinking; and to be informed. Later studies (e.g., Katz & Foulkes, 1962), posited a uni-functional model which suggested that the main function of the media was to provide "escape" from the real world. While Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961), studying school children, argued that the media serve two functions: escape and information. However, it was not until the early seventies that there was a concerted effort to elaborate the empirical bases of the uses and gratifications approach.

In England, McQuail, Blumler and Brown (1972), studied the pattern of gratifications derived by adult listeners of a radio serial *(The Dales)* and viewers of television news, adventure, and quiz programs. They hypothesized that: (a) an important part of mass media use is goal-directed; (b) these goals can only be discovered from the audience itself, i.e., that the audience is aware of its goals and can verbalize them; and (c) any audience member may be motivated towards any particular medium for a variety of different reasons. The results of this study indicated that audience members can verbalize the reasons why they turn to certain media and to certain programs within a medium. A cluster analysis of the various needs identified as being fulfilled by these diverse programs resulted in a four-fold typology of needs relating to: diversion; personal relationships; personal identity; and surveillance. Thus, for example, audience members indicated that they used radio and television to: escape the boredom of everyday life, to have something to talk about with others, to compare the people and events in the programs with their own experience, and to keep in touch with the main events of the world. In the United States, Robinson's (1972b) review of a series of related studies of viewing behavior suggests a similar description of the possible functions of television, namely, "utilitarian, ego-defensive, value expressive, and informative."

The studies described thus far are in the Herzog tradition. Viewers and listeners were asked to indicate why they selected and used certain media or certain programs. As noted previously, audience members seem quite aware of their needs or reasons for media selection and can express these needs. Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973) provided a further development of this functional theme. They were interested in how the audience evaluates the various media with respect to each medium's role in gratifying needs or fulfilling expectations. They questioned the audience member's perception of the role of the various media in the gratification process. The results of their study in Israel supported the four-fold typology of media-related needs described by McQuail et al. (1972), but in addition, Katz and his associates found that the media were perceived as differentially useful in gratifying these needs. In general, these results demonstrated that television was perceived as serving all four clusters of needs. It was perceived as the least specialized of all the media and was seen as useful for "killing time," keeping in touch with world events, and providing vicarious social contact. Radio's functions were similar to television in that it too, served all clusters of needs. However, books, newspapers, and films were perceived as serving more specific needs. Books served needs related to personal identity; newspapers served information needs; and films satisfied needs for diversion.

A replication of the Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973) study in Australia by Kippax and Murray (1980) indicated that the needs of the Australian adults were relatively similar to their Israeli counterparts. A factor analysis of the needs endorsed by these adult respondents could be described as relating to: self and personal identity; social contact; diversion and entertainment; and information and knowledge about the world. Television was perceived as the most gratifying of the media; its functions appeared diverse and it was perceived as satisfying needs contained in all four factors.

The cross-national evidence derived from three studies of adults in England, Israel, and Australia, as well as a review of related studies in the United States, support the basic view of a four-fold typology of media-related needs. Moreover, a review of theory and research in various Scandinavian and European countries provides additional support for a consistent structure of media functions. For example, Kjellmor (1973) in Sweden, indicates that a factor analysis of the functions of broadcast media results in three functions: escape or diversion, self-improvement through information and knowledge, and social utility which covers both advice and assistance for practical action. In Finland, Nordenstreng (1969, 1070) speaks of the media as providing contact with the world and Pietila (1974) proposes three basic functions: "world view, diversion and social utility." In France, Ripert (Prix Jeunesse, 1975) argues for three similar functions for television, namely, entertainment, information, and utility. In Canada, television's appeal is described in terms of its functions of surveillance and relaxation (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1975). Finally, in one of the few studies to report on the functions of the mass media for children, von Feilitzen (1976) identifies five groups of needs: entertainment, information, social contact, escape, and media preferences. Furthermore, she indicates that after the peak in television viewing at about age 12, escape and entertainment factors gain in importance. Thus, the general picture of the functions of media is constructed from usually four clusters of needs relating to personal identity, personal relationships or social contact, entertainment or diversion, and information or surveillance. Within this framework, use of a particular medium or content within a medium is related to attempts, on the part of the audience member to gratify particular types of needs.

The results of the studies described above suggest that the media do satisfy, or are perceived to satisfy, certain needs. However, there are still some major gaps in the empirical validation of the full functional model. This model has been described by Katz and his associates in Israel and England (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1974) as concerned with (1) the social and psychological origins of (2) the needs which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources which lead to (5) differential factors of media exposure or engagement in other activities resulting in (6) need gratification and (7) other consequences. Research within the uses and gratifications framework does seem to support the notion that audience members do have expectations of the media which relate to certain needs and that these persons can verbalize their needs. Moreover, the studies by Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973) and Kippax and Murray (1980) demonstrate that the media are perceived as gratifying these felt needs. However, these studies do not show that the audience is active in its selection and use of the media; a strong criticism raised by Elliott (1974) and Chaney (1972).

Viewing Patterns

The problems associated with the concept of an active audience arise from the circularity inherent in much of functional analyses. As Chaney (1972) points out, in order to avoid being tautological the researcher must explain why a particular individual has particular needs or expectations, and the researcher must also account for these needs independently of media use. In other words, in order to be able to claim that audience members select certain media to gratify certain needs, a relationship between media use and audience members' needs must be shown to exist over and above the social and situational origins which both variables (needs and media use) have in common. For example, watching soap operas on television can be shown to be related to certain social and situational characteristics of the viewer such as being a housewife. In addition, these social characteristics can also be shown to be related to the expression of

certain needs and media expectations in the viewer such as "escape." But, to claim that soap operas function to satisfy escapist needs, this relationship must hold over and above the characteristics of being a housewife. If this independent relationship cannot be demonstrated, then the concept of "need" adds nothing to an understanding of media use. Only if these relationships are demonstrated, can one claim with certainty as do McQuail, Blumler & Brown (1972): "The meaning of an example of viewer behaviour is not self-evident from knowledge of content alone, or of the social-demographic parameters of an audience, but can only be explained in terms of a relationship in which the individual takes certain expectations to the interaction and responds with reference to these expectations" (p. 158).

With this in mind, Kippax and Murray (1980; 1977) in Australia, designed two studies to examine whether audience selection and use of the media was goal-directed. The first study was focused upon choice among various media, while the second study examined choice within one medium—television. In both studies, it was hypothesized that media/program selection is determined by media/program characteristics and the specific needs of the audience member as mediated by the media user's situational and social role characteristics.

In one study of adults, Kippax and Murray (1980) found that needs were not clearly related to media use. Selection or use of newspapers, television, or radio could not be predicted by reference to the needs of audience members; although movie attendance and to a lesser extent book reading could be related to the users' needs. It was found that films serve an entertainment function, and books appear to satisfy needs associated with personal identity (although this latter relationship is not clear-cut). However, although newspapers are *perceived* to perform a specific function, that of satisfying information needs, there was no relationship between use of this medium and the need for information and knowledge about the world. The remaining media—television, radio, and magazines—were *perceived* as serving diffuse needs but, as with newspapers, there was no relationship between the use of any of these media and need gratification. Either the audience is not active in its selection of various media or, as Elliott (1974) noted, the diffuse quality of these media precludes the possibility of identifying the specific functions that these media may serve.

The results of another Australian study (Kippax & Murray, 1977) do support the argument that adults are goal-directed in their use of television, and that the selection of specific programs is, to some extent, determined by the viewers' needs. These needs are, in turn, related to the situational and social characteristics of the viewer. However, *both* needs and social characteristics of the viewer contribute to program selection. Television is perceived as best gratifying escape or entertainment and information needs and also, but minimally, social contact and personal identity needs. Moreover, television is not only *perceived* as gratifying these needs, it is also *used* as a source of gratification. Individuals who endorse information needs do watch more information programs. Those who endorse social and personal identity needs do watch more of those programs such as popular drama and movies which can be seen to serve those needs related to vicarious social contact. However, there are *no specific programs* that particularly serve those with *escapist needs*—for the "escapist," any program will do!

Program selection is also determined, to some extent, by demographic and situational characteristics. Among adults, the demographic characteristics roughly divide the sample into two groups: The males, the better educated, upper socioeconomic groups, and those who go out to work tend to watch more current affairs, information, news, sport, quiz, and variety programs; while the females, the less well educated, the lower socioeconomic groups, and those who do not go out to work watch more popular drama, detective programs, movies, and children's programs. The elderly in the Kippax and Murray (1977) study tended to watch more of most types of programs while the younger adults watched more comedies, thrillers, and popular drama. The middle-aged watch more news, current affairs, information, quiz, and variety programs. These demographic characteristics are, of course, related to one another and they are also related to the amount of viewing. The males, better educated, those from the upper socioeconomic groups, and the middle-aged, watch less television than the females, the old, the less well-educated and those from the lower socioeconomic groups who constitute the heavy and *available* viewers. Television, it appears, does fill in and

kill time for this latter group. For those who do not have education or the money or the time for other outlets, television is the medium of choice. However, television also provides, in a more positive manner, a source of information and relaxation for most, and a source of social contact for some.

Thus it does appear that individuals take certain expectations to the media and that these expectations influence their choice and selection both among media and within the medium of television. Whether the media also meet these expectations and gratify the audience members' needs is still open to further question.

There have been a few studies of youth in England, arising out of the work at Leicester and Birmingham Universities with subcultural groups, which bear on this problem. One study by Murdock and Phelps (1973) indicates that popular music functions as part of the defining characteristics of certain subcultures. Troyna (1977) in his work on "reggae" and Cohen (1972) in his exploration of "mods" and "rockers" use of the media show how the media may be used in the negotiation of self-identity and definition. As Murdock and Phelps (1973) point out: ". . . the evidence tends to indicate that pupils actively choose both the sort of programs, magazines and records they will look at or listen to. . . the sorts of choices and evaluations which pupils make is not arbitrary or random. rather they appear to be strongly related to their experience of the school system, to their social class background, and to the neighborhood milieu in which they spend their leisure time" (p. 125).

Whether these findings can be generalized to all broadcasting media or to television in particular remains to be evaluated. However, the uses and gratifications research of Herzog (1944) has led, after some time, to a large number of studies which have thrown light on the functions served by the media. The studies reviewed in this section support the view that the audience is active in its use of the media and that media use is related to certain expectations and needs that audience members hold. Thus, there appears to be a growing body of empirical support for the theoretical issues raised in Herzog's (1944) "uses and gratifications" research. At present, most of the available research in this tradition has been conducted on adults but one study of youth in this approach—in addition to the von Felitzen (1976) and Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) reports discussed earlier—is Noble and Noble's (1978) study of Australian adolescents "functional" approach to viewing the American television series "Happy Days." The Nobles found that the youths in their study used the television program, particularly the behavior of Fonzie, to learn about ways of coping with the hassles perpetrated by teachers and parents. Also, viewing "Happy Days" had high social utility because it was a major topic of conversation among the students. In this instance, the adolescents were quite clear about their reasons for viewing and knowledgeable about the effects of such viewing. Whether this selective approach to viewing can be demonstrated in very young children is a topic for further research.

Violence & Victims

There is probably no other question concerning television's impact that has generated as much public interest and professional study as the question about the influence of televised violence on the viewer's aggressive behavior. During the preceeding decade, there have been numerous reviews and commentaries devoted to this issue (e.g., Bandura, 1973; Berkowitz, 1973; Comstock & Lindsey, 1975; Howitt & Cumberbatch, 1975; Kaplan & R. D. Singer, 1976; Klapper, 1968, 1976; Kniveton, 1976; Liebert, Neale & Davidson, 1973; Liebert & Schwartzberg, 1977; Murray, 1973, 1976, 1977a; Murray & Kippax, 1979; National Broadcasting Company, 1977; Ontario Psychological Association, 1976; Pietila, 1977; J. L. Singer, 1971; Stein & Friedrich, 1975; Weiss, 1969), and not all reviewers are in agreement about the nature and extent of the effects of viewing televised violence. For example, Howitt and Cumberbatch (1975), two British researchers, argued that "the mass media do not have any significant effect on the level of violence in society" (p. vii). However, in that same year, Comstock and Lindsey (1975), two American researchers who reviewed much of the same evidence as Howitt and Cumberbatch, stated: "The widespread belief that the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee's conclusion that the evidence suggests a causal link between violence viewing and aggression, is correct. . ." (p. 8) (See also Comstock, 1976). Furthermore, the Surgeon General, Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld, in testimony before the United States Senate Committee which inaugurated the investigation, stated: "While the committee report [Advisory Committee] is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear to me that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action. The data on social phenomena such as television and violence and/or aggressive behavior will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of a succinct statement of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come" (United States Senate, 1972). With this background of controversy we will plunge into the cross-national evidence on the impact of televised violence.

One fact which emerges from a compilation of the literature on televised violence, is the observation that most of the research in this area has been conducted in the United States. For example, in Andison's (1977) review of 67 studies of television and violence, 54 were carried out in the United States and the remainder in England, Canada, Australia, Japan, and Germany. The major cross-cultural study (i.e., one in which the essential procedures of a study are replicated in another culture) is a recent study conducted in the United States and Belgium (Parke, Berkowitz, Leyens, West & Sebastion, 1977). Of course, cross-national comparisons can be made to the extent that researchers have employed either basically similar methods or based their research on similar theoretical orientations. Nevertheless, in the absence of cross-cultural studies, cross-national comparisons should be tempered by the possibility that the nature of aggression and the factors influencing its expression may vary from culture to culture. For example, Pietilia (1976) in Finland has demonstrated that the nature of violence portrayed on American vs. Russian television programs differs markedly; in American programs, violence is used for *personal* gain while in Russian programs, violence is used to further goals of the state. Furthermore, Wober (1978) has failed to find the same "cultivation of violence" effects in England as Gerbner and his colleagues (e.g., Gerbner & Gross, 1980) have found in the United States.

Another feature which emerges from a review of violence studies is the fact that certain methods are used more frequently with one particular age group than others. For example, experimental studies are more likely to be conducted with young children, while correlational studies are more frequent in the adolescent literature. This characteristic of the literature makes it difficult to provide direct comparisons across various age groups. However, there are a few studies which allow several points on the age continuum to be mapped. With these caveats in mind, the studies will be discussed in four methodological clusters: experimental, correlational, causal-correlational, and field-experimental studies. In each grouping the influence of developmental differences in terms of age and the influence of social and situational factors will be considered where possible. In a fourth section, the evidence for and against the "catharsis" hypothesis will be evaluated.

Experimental Studies

The major initial studies of the impact of film and television violence were the experiments conducted in the United States by Bandura and his colleagues (Bandura, 1973; Bandura & Walters, 1963; Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961, 1963) with young children, and the studies by Berkowitz and his colleagues (Berkowitz, 1962, 1973; Berkowitz & Geen, 1966; Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963) with older adolescents/young adults. In a typical study conducted by Bandura (e.g., Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963), young children were presented with a film, back-projected onto a television screen, in which an adult model displayed novel aggressive behavior toward an inflated plastic doll. After viewing this material, the child was placed in a playroom setting and the incidence of aggressive behavior was recorded (including, but not limited to, assaults on the plastic doll). The results of several of these studies indicated that the children who had viewed the aggressive film were more aggressive in this setting than those children who had not observed the aggressive model. Similarly, the results of Berkowitz's (e.g., Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963) studies in which university students viewed violent film clips and then were allowed to express aggression in another setting (e.g., administering electric shocks to a recalcitrant "learner" peer), demonstrated increased aggression among those who had viewed the violent film material. These early studies were criticized because the film material consisted of either segments of a film or a specially produced film sequence and these stimuli were not directly comparable to typical television programs. Also, the studies were criticized because the measures of aggression were not considered to be representative of serious interpersonal aggression. Later studies have attempted to address these criticisms.

A more recent example of experimental studies of the impact of televised violence on children's aggressive behavior is an American study conducted for the Surgeon General's research program by Liebert and Baron (1972). In this study, the authors addressed the criticisms of earlier research by studying young children's willingness to hurt another child after viewing videotaped sections of standard typical aggressive or neutral television programs. The aggressive program consisted of segments drawn from *The Untouchables*, while the neutral program featured a track race. Following viewing, the children were placed in a setting in which they could either help or hurt another child by pressing control buttons that would either facilitate or disrupt the game-playing performance of the ostensible victim in the adjoining room. The main findings were that the children who viewed the aggressive program demonstrated a greater willingness to hurt another child. The *youngest* children who had viewed the aggressive program pressed the HURT button earlier and for a longer period of time than did their peers who had viewed an equally stimulating track race. Moreover, when the children were later observed during the free-play period, those who had viewed *The Untouchables* exhibited a greater preference for playing with weapons and aggressive toys than did the children who had watched the neutral programming.

There are, of course, other factors that might moderate the violence-viewing-to-aggressive-behavior equation such as "selective attention" or "perceptual screening." In order to evaluate these possible contributors to the effects observed in the Liebert and Baron (1972) study, Ekman and his colleagues (Ekman, Liebert, Friesen, Harrison, Zlatchin, Malmstrom & Baron, 1972), using the children from the study described above, assessed the relationship between children's emotional reactions while viewing televised violence and their subsequent aggressive behavior. Children's facial expressions were unobtrusively videotaped while they watched a segment of a violent television program. The researchers could then relate the child's aggressive behavior to facial expressions of emotion while viewing televised violence. They found that children whose facial expressions depicted the positive emotions of happiness, pleasure, interest, or involvement while viewing televised violence were more likely to hurt another child than were children whose facial expressions indicated disinterest or displeasure in such television content.

Further elaborations of more meaningful measures of aggressive behavior can be found in another American study by Drabman and Thomas (1974). These researchers assessed children's willingness to intervene in the ongoing disruptive and assaultive behavior of younger children following the viewing of aggressive television content. In this instance, children who had viewed the aggressive program were

slower to intervene and were more likely to wait until the disruptive behavior had escalated into presumed serious physical assault before initiating intervention.

Several studies have demonstrated that one exposure to a violent cartoon leads to increased aggression (Ellis & Sekyra, 1972; Lovaas, 1961; Mussen & Rutherford, 1961; Ross, 1972). Hapkiewitz and Roden (1971) found no effects for violent cartoons on children's physical aggression but *boys* who saw the violent cartoons were less likely to share than their control group peers. In an Australian study (Murray, Hayes & Smith, 1978), preschool children who had viewed aggressive cartoons such as *Road Runner,* were more aggressive in a play group than those children who had viewed equally stimulating animated segments of *Sesame Street.* However, these results were mediated by the fact that live peer models of aggression provided by spontaneous play in the post-viewing play group were better predictors of aggression than the television programs. The results suggested that viewing aggressive cartoons stimulated aggressive behaviors in some children who, by acting out their aggression, stimulated aggressive behavior in other members of the play group.

Several studies which evaluated children's willingness to use violence to resolve conflict situations following exposure to violent films or television programs (Collins, 1973; Leifer & Roberts, 1972) found somewhat mixed results. In one study conducted by Leifer and Roberts (1972), children who had viewed an aggressive program were clearly more likely to choose violent/aggressive solutions in these conflict situations. However, in another study in the Leifer and Roberts program which employed both violent and nonviolent programs there was no difference in post-viewing selection of violent conflict resolution between experimental and control groups. A similar lack of differentiation on this type of measure of aggression was found for children exposed to aggressive or neutral films by Collins (1973).

In an experiment conducted with 5- and 6-year-old children in Sweden, Linné (1971) compared children who had seen 75% or more of the broadcasts of an aggressive American television program, *High Chaparral,* with those who had seen half or less of the series. She found that a higher proportion of the "high exposure" children chose an aggressive mode of resolving conflict situations. However, she also found that the high-exposure children differed from the low-exposure children on a variety of important dimensions. For example, she found that the high-exposure children watched more television and that their mothers also watch more television. Furthermore, children who chose the aggressive conflict resolutions were more likely to go to bed immediately following viewing of *High Chaparral,* while those high-exposure children who chose non-aggressive solutions were more likely to stay up later and play before going to bed. This study points out a few of the background factors that must be taken into account when pursuing the relationship between television content and social behavior.

As mentioned previously, experimental studies of adolescents are considerably less frequent than those conducted with children. However, of the available American studies, those conducted by Berkowitz and his colleagues (e.g., Berkowitz, 1973; Berkowitz, Corwin & Heironimus, 1963; Berkowitz & Geen, 1966; Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963) mostly with adolescents and young adults, suggest that exposure to violent films increases the likelihood and magnitude of subsequent aggressive behavior, particularly if the viewer has been previously angered or frustrated prior to viewing the filmed violence. Also, Leifer and Roberts (1972) found that adolescent males and females were more likely to choose aggressive modes of conflict resolution in direct relation to the amount of violence contained in the aggressive program that they had viewed in the experimental setting. Similarly, other studies (e.g., D. P. Hartmann, 1969; Walters & Thomas, 1963) found that male adolescents who had viewed aggressive films were more likely to deliver greater levels of electric shock to a peer in the experimental setting.

Correlational Studies

Most of the studies which have attempted to relate television program preferences or viewing patterns to the viewer's aggressive behavior have tended to concentrate on older children and adolescents. However, a few experimental studies conducted with younger children have also investigated the relationship of

home television viewing/preferences to aggressive attitudes and behavior in the experimental setting (e.g., Leifer & Roberts, 1972; Stein & Friedrich, 1972). Also, as was the case with experimental studies of aggression, most of the correlational studies are American with the exception of a study of television and juvenile delinquency in England by Halloran and his colleagues (Halloran, Brown & Chaney, 1970) and two studies in Australia in which an attempt was made to relate film and/or television violence to the viewer's perception/evaluation of violence and aggressive attitudes (Edgar, 1977a; Lovibond, 1967). In addition, the early surveys conducted when television was being introduced into England (Himmelweit, Oppenheim & Vince, 1958), Australia (Campbell & Keogh, 1962), Japan (Furu, 1962, 1971) and North America (Schramm, Lyle & Parker, 1961) investigated the relationship between program preferences and aggressive behavior/attitudes.

In general, the correlational studies are fairly consistent in demonstrating that viewing/preference for aggressive television content is related to aggressive behavior and attitudes. Although Himmelweit et al., (1958) failed to find a significant relationship between parents' or teachers' ratings of aggressiveness and the *presence* of a television set in the child's home, all of these early studies in which the researchers related the *content* viewed or preferred to measures of aggression found positive relationships. For example, Furu (1962, 1971) reported that Japanese children who were rated as high in conflict or high in aggressiveness were significantly more likely to espouse a preference for aggressive hero content. Similarly, Lovibond (1967) found that Australian children whose tastes in several media such as comics, radio, and television were aggressive were rated as more aggressive or antisocial. Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) reported that Canadian and American children who had high exposure to television and low exposure to print were more aggressive than those with the reverse pattern.

More recent correlational studies continue to support the conclusion that *viewing* televised violence is significantly related to aggressive behavior but question whether aggressive behavior is necessarily related to *preference* for violent television content. For example, McLeod, Atkin and Chaffee (1972a, 1972b) found a strong positive correlation between viewing violence and ratings of aggressive behavior by self, peers, parents, and teachers, but Chaffee (Chaffee, 1972; Chaffee & McLeod, 1972) reported that, although preference is related to viewing, *preference* for viewing violence is not strongly related to aggression. Thus, for example, McIntyre and Teevan (1972) who used preference rather than viewing indices could only report a modest relationship between the violence level of favorite television programs and self-reports of antisocial behavior among older adolescents. However, clear relationships between content and behavior emerge when the studies obtain measures of television viewing. Dominick and Greenberg (1972) found a relationship between extent of violence viewing and willingness to endorse the use of violence by 9- to 11-year-old boys. Robinson and Bachman (1972) found a relationship between the number of hours of television viewing and adolescent self-reports of aggression. In a more extensive analysis of the nature of the content of children's viewing patterns and its relationship to aggressive behavior in 9- to 13-year-old boys and girls, Greenberg and Atkin (1977) found a strong relationship between the extent of violence viewed and aggressive behavior. They report that on average, aggressive responses were selected by 45% of the heavy violence viewers compared to 21% of the light violence viewers. It seems clear that viewing violence is related to aggressive behavior, but the relationship between aggressive behavior and preference for televised violence is less clear.

Some of the problems associated with individual differences in children's perception of and reactions to televised violence are illustrated by an Australian study of children's responses to film violence (Edgar, 1977a). Edgar found that low self-esteem children were less likely to understand the screen violence, less able to articulate their concern about distrubing realistic film violence, and less likely to be sufficiently interested in taking action to prevent the occurrence of such realistic violence. However, the picture is further complicated by the fact that these low self-esteem children were also heavier television viewers, who preferred fantasy rather than realistic programs, and tended to use the television set as an electronic companion because they had fewer friends and more disturbed interpersonal relationships.

In summary, viewing violence is clearly related to aggressive attitudes and actions. To some lesser extent, behaving aggressively is related to preference for televised violence. Whether one is the cause of the other cannot be determined from correlational studies alone. Causal relationships can only be demonstrated by experimental studies and, in some instances, inferred from time-series correlational studies which employ various combinations of partial-correlation or stable-correlate/automatic interaction detection matching in conjunction with time-lagged correlations between violence preference/viewing and aggressive behavior. Two recent studies which employ some of these techniques will be described in the next section.

Causal/Correlational Studies

One of the major problems with laboratory-based experimental studies, such as those described above, is the fact that the aggressive behavior that can be evaluated in these settings is severely constrained by obvious ethical concerns and the safety of the participants. However, this refracted aggression is, of course, criticized on the grounds that it is not isomorphic with the types of aggression or violence that are at the root of public concern about televised violence. Similarly, the typical correlational study, while dealing with real-life aggression, is usually powerless to elucidate the cause-effect relationship. It is therefore necessary to develop alternative strategies which may enhance the causal inference that may be drawn from correlational data. There are two recent studies which address this issue: Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder & Huesmann (1972) and Belson (1978).

In the first study, Lefkowitz and his colleagues (Eron, Huesmann, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1972; Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1973; Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder & Huesmann, 1972) confronted the issue of ecological validity in studies of televised violence by assessing the relationship between preferences for violent television programs during early childhood and socially significant aggressive behavior in childhood and adolescence. These investigators obtained peer-rated measures of aggressive behavior and preferences for various kinds of television, radio, and comic books when the children were eight years old. Ten years later, when these boys had become young men, the investigators again obtained measures of aggressive behavior and television program preferences. Eron (1963) had previously demonstrated a relationship between preference for violent media and aggressive behavior at age eight but the questions now posed were: Would this relationship hold over a long segment of the child's life-span; and, could adolescent aggressive behavior be predicted from knowledge of the person's television viewing habits in early childhood? Using a cross-lagged panel design, it was possible to describe potential causal agents in the televised violence-to-aggressive behavior equation. The simultaneous and time-lagged correlations between preference for violent television and aggressive behavior are presented in Figure 2. It can be noted that preference for television violence at age eight was significantly related to aggression at age eight ($r = .21$) but preference for television violence at age 18 was not related to aggression at age 18 ($r = -.05$). When the cross-lagged correlations across the 10-year span are considered, the important finding is a significant relationship between preferences for violent television programs at age eight and aggression at age 18 ($r = .31$). Equally important is the lack of a relationship in the reverse direction (i.e., preference for television violence at age 18 and aggression at age eight ($r = .01$). The authors suggest that there are a number of possible interpretations of this pattern of correlations, especially when one observes that the strongest correlation in the matrix is that between aggression at age eight and 18 ($r = .38$). Therefore, the ultimate interpretation rests upon examining several alternative interpretations and selecting the most plausible. After an examination of some of these alternatives, the authors conclude that "the single most plausible causal hypothesis is that a preference for watching violent television in the third grade contributes to the development of aggressive habits" (Eron, Huesmann, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1972, p. 258). One of the most likely rival candidates is the suggestion that early aggression causes both early preference for violence and later aggression. Figure 3 presents these two interpretations of the data. However, the authors point out that if one computes a partial correlation between preference for violence at age eight and aggression at age 18 while controlling for aggression at age eight, this partial correlation would have to be zero if the

pattern diagrammed in 3b is correct. But the partial correlation is .25 so 3b cannot be the whole explanation. Therefore, Eron and his colleagues favor the causal hypothesis diagrammed in 3a, namely that preference for televised violence at an early age causes later aggression.

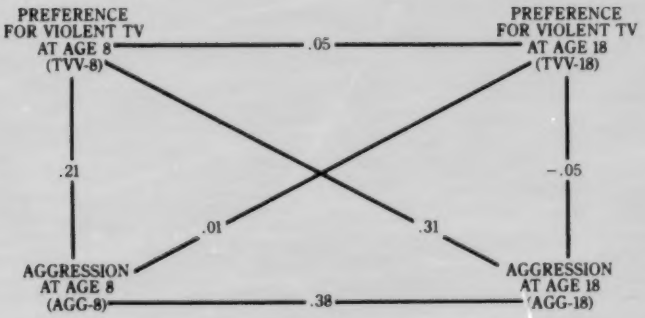

Figure 2.
Simultaneous and sequential correlations for television viewing and aggression.
Source: Lefkowitz, et al. (1972).

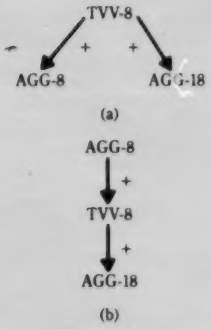

Figure 3.
Probable causal explanations of the relation of television viewing to aggression.
Source: Eron, et al. (1972).

It should be noted that this interpretation is not without controversy and some methodological issues have been raised (e.g., Becker, 1972; Howitt, 1972; Kaplan, 1972; Kay, 1972). Many of these issues have been settled by the reviews of other methodologists (i.e., Kenny, 1972, 1975; Neale, 1972) and the authors have refuted most of the remaining criticisms (Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1973). One criticism that can never be refuted is the claim that both preference for televised violence and aggressive behavior are a product of some *third variable*. On this issue, however, the authors noted that the correlations between aggression and preference for televised violence were not significantly moderated when they controlled for the child's level of aggression at age eight, socio-economic status, I.Q., parental punishment, parental aggressiveness, parental aspirations for the child, and the number of hours of television watched by the child. The authors concluded that televised violence was at least one causal factor in the production and maintenance of aggressive behavior in boys.

Another causal-correlational approach to the impact of televised violence can be found in a study commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System, which was conducted by Belson (1978) in England. Belson investigated the relationship between long-term exposure to televised violence and the violent behavior of adolescent boys. The results of this study are based upon interviews conducted with a representative sample of 12- to 17-year-old boys residing in London. The total number of persons interviewed in the main study was 1,565. The interviews and test procedures, conducted on several occasions, were focused upon the extent of exposure to a sample of violent television programs broadcast during the period 1959 to 1971 and each boy's involvement in a range of violent acts during the six months preceding the interview. The level and types of violence in the television programs were rated by members of the British Broadcasting Corporation's viewing panel. Therefore, it was possible to obtain for each boy a measure of both the magnitude and type of exposure to televised violence (e.g., realistic, fictional, cartoon, etc.). Each boy's level of violent behavior was determined by the frequency of his involvement in any of 53 categories of violent activities. The degree of violence in the acts reported by the boys ranged from slightly violent aggravation to more serious and very violent behavior such as: "I tried to force a girl to have sexual intercourse with me; I bashed a boy's head against a wall; I threatened to kill my father; I burned a boy on the chest with a cigarette while my mates held him down."

The results of Belson's investigation indicated that approximately 50% of the 1,565 boys were not involved in any violent acts during the six-month period. Of those who were involved in violence, 188 (12%) were involved in 10 or more acts during the six-month period. When Belson compared the behavior of boys who had higher vs. lower exposure to televised violence and who had been matched on a wide variety of variables, he found that the high violence viewers were more involved in serious violent acts. Moreover, he found that serious interpersonal violence is increased by long-term exposure to: (a) plays or films in which close personal relationships are a major theme and which feature verbal or physical violence; (b) programs in which violence seems to be thrown in for its own sake or is not necessary to the plot; (c) programs featuring fictional violence of a realistic nature; (d) programs in which the violence is presented as being in a good cause; and (d) violent westerns. However, Belson also points out that even after a solid and searching matching procedure, it is still possible that the whole or part of this hypothesis is working in reverse. That is, the relationship between televised violence and aggression may be, at least in part, a reflection of the violent boys' tendency to watch the more violent programs just because these boys are violent.

Field Experiments

Another approach to preserving the ecological validity of both television viewing and response measures is demonstrated in several recent studies of the impact of television or film violence on the social behavior of children and adolescents residing in relatively natural environments such as kindergarten classrooms or playgrounds and in the living quarters and grounds of residential institutions.

In one American field experiment conducted with preschool children, Steuer, Applefield and Smith (1971) attempted to assess the cumulative effects of viewing televised violence. In this small-scale study, 10

preschool children were assigned to five pairs matched on the basis of the amount of home television viewing. Each child was observed in free-play peer interaction for a baseline period of 10 days. Following the baseline period, one child in the matched pair viewed a series of aggressive cartoons and the other child viewed a series of nonaggressive programs. The daily viewing period extended for 11 days. During both the baseline and viewing periods, the frequency of aggressive interaction with peers was recorded for each child. The measures of aggressive behavior were focused on serious aggression such as physical assaults in the form of hitting, kicking, squeezing, holding down, choking, and throwing an object at another child from a distance of more than one foot. The baseline observations indicated that the pairs of children were closely matched on initial level of aggressive behavior. By the end of 11 days of viewing, the children who had viewed the aggressive programs were displaying more aggressive behavior in their peer interaction than their matched controls who had viewed the nonaggressive programs. The significant feature of this study is the demonstrable cumulative effect of exposure to televised violence despite the relatively brief viewing period.

In a longer-term American study, Stein and Friedrich (1972; Friedrich & Stein, 1973) presented 97 preschool children with a diet of either "antisocial, prosocial or neutral" television programs. The antisocial diet consisted of 12 half-hour episodes of *Batman* and *Supemn* cartoons. The prosocial diet was composed of 12 episodes of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* (a program that stresses such themes as sharing possessions and cooperative play). The neutral diet consisted of children's travelogue films. The children were observed through a nine-week period which consisted of three weeks of previewing baseline, four weeks of television exposure and two weeks of follow-up. All observations were conducted in a naturalistic setting while the children were engaged in daily activities. The observers recorded various forms of behavior that could be regarded as prosocial (i.e., helping, sharing, cooperative play) or antisocial (i.e., arguing, pushing, breaking toys). The overall results indicated that children who were adjudged to be initially somewhat more aggressive became significantly more aggressive as a result of viewing the *Batman* and *Superman* cartoons. Moreover, the children who viewed *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* became more cooperative and willing to share toys and delay gratification.

In a recent Canadian field experiment, the researchers (Joy, Kimball & Zabrack, 1977) had an opportunity to observe the aggressive behavior of children living in three towns with or without television, Notel, Unitel and Multitel, and reassess the children two years after television was introduced into Notel. At Time 1, the researchers selected a sample of five male and five female children from Grades 1, 2, 4, and 5 and at Time 2, from Grades 1, 2, 3, and 4. In addition, the children who were observed at Time 1 were observed again at Time 2. Each child was observed for 21, one-minute intervals during a seven- to ten-day period. Teacher ratings and peer ratings of aggressive behavior were obtained on all children in the four grades included in the observational study. The results of the longitudinal study of 44 children observed at Time 1 and Time 2 indicated that there were no differences across the three towns at Time 1 but at Time 2, the children in the former Notel were significantly more aggressive, both physically and verbally, than the children in the Unitel or Multitel towns. Moreover, only the children in Notel manifested any significant increase in physical and verbal aggression from Time 1 to Time 2. The cross-sectional study of 240 children in the three towns at two time periods, indicated that children in Notel were significantly more aggressive than their peers in Unitel but not different from their age mates in Multitel. Males were more aggressive than females and children were more aggressive at Time 2 than at Time 1. For verbal aggression, children in Notel were significantly more aggressive at Time 2 than Time 1, but the children in Unitel and Multitel did not increase their aggression from Time 1 to Time 2. The authors suggest that these dramatic increases in Notel at Time 2, in contrast to a relatively stable level of aggression in the other towns might be due to a "novelty" effect rather than the cumulative effect of viewing, a finding reminiscent of the pattern observed for other social behaviors in the three Australian towns (Murray & Kippax, 1978). The authors suggest that the vehicle by which this novelty effect might operate is through an energizing activation or arousal effect such as that proposed by Tannenbaum and Zillman (1975).

In another Canadian field experiment, McCabe and Moriarity (1977) assessed the influence of aggres-

sive or prosocial televised sports programs on the behavior of children and adolescents who were involved in summer training programs in hockey, lacrosse, and baseball. In each of the three programs the children or adolescents were presented with two, 39-minute edited videotapes of teams playing the relevant sport. In the aggressive version, the tapes were edited to highlight the antisocial verbal or physical accompaniments not infrequently observed in the conduct of that particular sport. Conversely, the prosocial tapes emphasized the cooperative, supportive aspects of team play. The children and adolescents ranging in age from 6 to 17 (hockey), 7 to 20 (lacrosse) and 6 to 12 (baseball), were observed for evidence of physical, verbal, and non-verbal symbolic aggression and prosocial behavior. The observations were conducted prior to viewing, on the viewing days, and on days following the viewing of the videotaped programs. The only trend in the results was a slight tendency toward an increase in prosocial behavior among the older team members who viewed the prosocial televised sport. It may be that the incidence of antisocial activities on the playing field, particularly for hockey and lacrosse, swamped the telvision effect while, conversely, the low incidence of naturally occurring prosocial behavior caused the prosocial programs to be something of a novelty for the older, more case-hardened players.

The next field experiment that we shall discuss is the only cross-cultural study of the impact of film or television violence that we have encountered. This series of studies, undertaken in the United States and Belgium, was designed to evaluate the influence of filmed violence on the aggressive behavior of adolescent delinquents (Parke, Berkowitz, Leyens, West & Sebastian, 1977). All three field studies in this program included the presentation of either aggressive or non-aggressive, unedited, commercial films to groups of adolescent males who were living in small-group cottages in minimum security institutions. Furthermore, the measures of aggressive behavior were based upon naturalistic observations of the boys' behavior in their usual environment. The categories of aggressive behavior observed included physical threats (e.g., fist waving), verbal aggression (e.g., taunting, cursing), and physical attack (e.g., hitting, choking, kicking) as well as a variety of noninterpersonal physical and verbal aggression (e.g., destroying an object, cursing without a social target) and self-directed physical and verbal aggression.

In the first American study, boys in two separate cottages were exposed to a diet of five aggressive or neutral films. These boys had been observed for a three-week baseline period, then a one-week film-viewing period, followed by a three-week post-viewing observation period. The results of this study indicated that the boys who viewed the aggressive movies were significantly more aggressive in terms of interpersonal verbal and physical aggression as well as noninterpersonal verbal and physical aggression against objects and self. In addition, there was a tendency for the greatest increase in aggression to be associated with those boys who were initially somewhat more aggressive.

In the second American study, the duration of observation was increased in the baseline and post-viewing periods and the extent of film viewing was varied so that two groups were exposed to five sessions of either aggressive or neutral films and two other groups were exposed to only one neutral or aggressive film. Therefore, the magnitude of effects in relation to the extent of exposure could be analyzed. In general, the results indicated that more dramatic effects of the aggressive movies were obtained in the five-movie diet than in the one-exposure condition. There also was an effect for initial level of aggression (those who were initially more aggressive increased most) in the *one* film condition but the level of aggression effect was not found in the *five-exposure* group.

In the third study, the same basic design of the American studies was replicated in a minimum security institution for teen-age boys in Belgium. The study included a one-week baseline observation period, followed by one week of film viewing and a one-week post-viewing observation period. There were four cottages involved in which there were two cottages with high aggressive behavior and two with a low level of aggression. One of each pair of cottages was assigned to the aggressive film condition, while the other two viewed the neutral films. The results of this study indicated that only the two initially high aggressive cottages were affected by the movies; those boys who saw the aggressive movies increased their level of aggression, while those who were exposed to the neutral films reduced their level of aggression. Thus,

there is some evidence that predispositional factors related to aggressiveness may be catalysts in producing either *increases* or *decreases* in film-mediated behavior.

Catharsis and Televised Violence

Standing in opposition to these accumulated findings on the effects of media violence is a major study by Feshbach and R. D. Singer (1971) which suggests that viewing televised violence *reduces* the likelihood that the viewer will engage in aggressive behavior. The theory underlying this study stipulates that the child who views violence on television vicariously experiences the violence, identifies with the aggressive actor, and thereby discharges his pent up anger, hostility, and frustration. In the Feshbach and Singer study, adolescent and preadolescent boys were presented with a diet of either aggressive or nonaggressive television programming over a six-week period while the researchers concurrently measured the day-to-day aggressive behavior of these boys. The results indicated that, in some cases, the children who viewed the nonviolent television programs were more aggressive than the boys who viewed the aggressive programs. This research has been seriously questioned on methodological grounds (Liebert, Sobol & Davidson, 1972; Liebert, Davidson & Sobol, 1972) and the authors have replied to some of these criticisms (Feshbach & Singer, 1972a, 1972b), but serious doubts remain. For example, the reliability of the main measure of aggressive behavior—daily ratings by institutional personnel (e.g., teachers, houseparents)—was not clearly established during the study. Furthermore, the raters were untrained and, more serious, were knowledgeable about the treatment condition to which their ratees were assigned. In another instance, the boys who were supposedly restricted to nonaggressive programs were, in fact, allowed to routinely view their favorite program, *Batman* (one of the more violent programs in the aggressive diet).

There are, however, more general problems with the catharsis notion when it is applied to the mass media. The concept of catharsis, as it is formulated in psychoanalytic or dynamic theories of personality development (see Nichols and Zax, 1977), requires the experiencing of a rather intense emotional involvement which we know, from both common observation and research, appears to be lacking in most television viewing contexts. The only media setting in which the intensity of involvement *might* possibly be sufficient to postulate the operation of catharsis is the reading of fairy tales to very young children (Bettelheim, 1976; Murray, 1977). In this latter setting, it is possible that parental mediation of the impact of the fairy tale by controlling the intensity of emotion, the sequencing of content, and the pacing of development in response to the child's feedback, could bring about a catharsis of aggressive fantasies—especially when there is an opportunity for repeated "working-through" of these feelings. Indeed, the frequent repetition of a fairy tale selected by the child is an indication that such tales deal most directly with emotional issues that are of immediate concern to that particular child and hence, the likelihood of catharsis is increased.

More concretely, in terms of research findings, there is little evidence from other studies which would support the catharsis notion when applied to televised violence. For example, a replication of the Feshbach and Singer study by Wells (1973) failed to demonstrate the existence of a catharsis effect. Furthermore, the catharsis effect does not square with other, more general research findings to the extent that, if viewing televised violence leads to a decrease in aggressive behavior, then, in various other correlational studies, preference for and viewing of violent programs should be inversely related to aggressive behavior (i.e., by reducing aggressive behavior, aggressive children should ultimately cease viewing and preferring aggressive television programs). Of course, this is not the case. Moreover, one of the original proponents of the catharsis hypothesis has recently repudiated the application of this concept to the question of the impact of media violence (Feshbach, 1980).

At this point in the state of the available research on catharsis, the most viable interpretation is the suggestion that although for *some* children under *some* circumstances, viewing televised violence may enable the child to discharge some of his or her aggressive feelings, for *many* children under *many* circumstances, viewing aggression on television leads to an increase in aggressive feelings, attitudes, and behavior.

Conclusions

Any attempt to provide a concise summary of the state of the research on televised violence and aggressive behavior is fraught with hazards. There is one broad conclusion which is quite clear, namely, that there *is* a relationship between violence on television and violence in society. The relationship is not straightforward and there are many aspects which, in the absence of firm replicated findings, must be dealt with on the level of reasonable scientific extrapolations. For example, we know that there is a myriad of variables which must be entered into the violence-viewing-to-aggressive-behavior equation. We have outlined some of the major variables such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, preexisting aggressive tendencies, self-esteem, frustration and other social-situational variables such as family communication patterns, child-rearing practices, and family structure. Alas, all of these variables have a nasty tendency to interact, thereby making the task of presenting a succinct causal statement difficult. Other powerful candidates for the production of violence are factors such as the unequal distribution of income and resources as manifested in ethnic, racial, or social class discrimination. There is a need to examine the debate about televised violence within the broader social and cultural contexts in which television has developed in various countries. As Gerbner (1976) has noted, American television is concerned with, among other things, the making of consumers. Perhaps it is, as Halloran (1977) suggests, that the presentation of material goods through advertising "... may increase expectations unrealistically, aggravate existing problems, contribute to frustration, and consequently to the aggression and violence that may stem from this" (p.7). Despite these caveats, there is sufficient cumulative evidence to warrant the view that televised violence is one factor in the production and maintenance of violence in society.

Sellers & Buyers

The concerns about television advertising, unlike those about televised violence, have a shorter history and a thinner layer of research findings. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of detail has been amassed concerning children's understanding of television commercials, their response to these live or animated inducements, and the roles of potential mediators—parents and public regulation—in the viewing and buying process. Therefore, in this section, we will describe the history of concern, the issues central to this concern, and the remedies proposed and contemplated.

Some Issues

The most likely starting point for an history of the public worry over television advertising directed to, or seen by, children in the United States, is the Action for Children's Television requests for restrictions on advertising (Action for Children's Television, 1971; 1975; 1978). These requests were directed to the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission at various times throughout the 1970's and have fueled a continuous discussion during the past decade (United States Federal Communications Commission, 1974; 1979; 1980; United States Federal Trade Commission, 1978; American Association of Advertising Agencies, 1978a; 1978b; Association of National Advertisers, American Association of Advertising Agencies, & American Advertising Federation, 1978; and Television Information Office, 1974).

The issues, as seen by Action for Children's Television, have been most succinctly stated by their chief spokesperson (Charren, 1979) as follows: "ACT believes this [advertising directed to children] is deception...

—*Psychologically,* the ads are deceiving because children are cognitively incapable of unscrambling the messages or the intent of commercials. Consumer education can't really alter that natural, age-based limitation.

—*Medically,* TV advertising is wrong because of the emphasis it places on foods that do not contain essential nutrients and do not create good dietary patterns.

—As a *dental matter,* child-directed commercials are deceptive because they never indicate the potential danger of consuming large amounts of sugar, one of the most cavity-producing substances Americans eat.

—*Leagally and morally,* TV advertising is unfair and deceptive because children, by virtue of their immaturity and inexperience, are unable to understand the inherent bias in advertising.

Ultimately all these deceptions have one outcome—harm to the child. Parents, without question, have the ultimate responsibility for what and how their children watch television. Whether or not they exercise this responsibility should not concern the federal government. What should concern the government—the Federal Trade Commission (FTC)—is the right of every child not to be deceived in the marketplace. The FTC routinely protects adults from deceptive advertising. ACT thinks children deserve the same protection." (p. 34).

The view from the other side contends that the products advertised are products which have been deemed legal to manufacture and distribute and therefore, should be legally free from restraints on advertising—a view not generally shared (see: Thain, 1976). The advertisers consider television commercials to be both reasonable and honorable ways to convey information about their products. Industry representatives, such as the National Association of Broadcasters (1978) note that there are codes which prohibit deceptive advertising and limit the amount of advertising permitted in children's programs. Moreover, one industry consultant (Turk, 1979) has outlined the "ethical morass" confronting both the industry and government regulatory agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission. Commenting upon the FTC Staff Report which resulted in consideration of the possible elimination of advertising on children's television programs, Turk noted: "The protagonists in children's television advertising have illustrated the operation of ethic sets. From our analysis we learn that both business and government believe in a special welfare for children, but only one side will let a personal ethic dictate strategy. For the other, the situational ethic is predominate and it demands little or no action. Specifically, marketers and broadcasters admit need

for reform but bow to the compulsion to sustain competitive advantage. ... The FTC staff's dilemma is ethical as well. Regulators have waited too long to make necessary reforms in children's television and television advertising. Frustrated by their inability to foster change and infuriated by commercial intransigence, the FTC presents a case of severe abuse and urges a dramatic and innovative remedy. Ignoring the realities circumscribed by the situation... the staff appears compelled to honor a fierce duty ethic; a personal commitment to social responsibility." (p. 8)

The divisions among public action and private industry groups seem quite clear. Whether these divisions will be permanent remains to be tested. In the interim, the referees—the government regulatory agencies—have called for evidence to substantiate the claims and counter charges. So too, we will turn to the results of recent research.

Some Evidence

Some of the earliest, publicly available, research on advertising and children in the United States, was the work of Ward and his colleagues for the United States Surgeon General's research program (Ward, 1972; Ward & Wackman, 1972; Ward, Levinson, & Wackman, 1972). The results of this research indicate that children can remember advertising slogans and jingles, and their knowledge of particular brand-name products results in children's attempts to obtain the advertised goods by influencing their parents in the purchase setting.

Five years after the Surgeon General's study, the National Science Foundation commissioned a prestigious panel to review the existing research on advertising and children. The summary report and review of the literature (National Science Foundation, 1977; Adler, Lesser, Meringoff, Robertson, Rossiter, & Ward, 1980) indicates that the available research has clearly demonstrated that children attend to, and learn from, commercials; that advertising has considerable influence with the younger viewers; and that, for all age groups, television advertising is moderately successful in creating positive attitudes toward and a desire to obtain the advertised products.

In 1978, the Federal Trade Commission responded to a petition by Action for Children's Television by opening an inquiry to determine whether advertising should be banned from children's television on the grounds that it was deceptive to young viewers. The public hearings which accompanied this inquiry produced a flood of testimony and a host of new, or newly reported, research findings. As an example, there were the intriguing findings from a massive study, undertaken in the early 1970;s by The Child, Inc. (The Gene Reilly Group/Meringoff, Ward, & Diamond, 1973a; 1973b; 1974; 1975), which documented, among other things, the extent to which children rely upon peers or broadcast/in-store inducements for information about products. The data presented in Table 1 is drawn from one part of this initial survey. Of the 780 children interviewed concerning their sources of information about various items that they have requested for gifts, 31% stated that they learned about them from friends, 26% learned about them from advertising or commercials, and 26% stated that they learned about them from experiences in the store. However, that is a total figure for all types of items. One might ask questions about the differentiation of information sources for different types of products. Thus, in the case of sporting goods, 40% of the youngsters stated that they found out about the present that they wanted from their friends. However, in the case of toys, 42% said that they found out about the present that they had requested from advertising or commercials. It would seem, from these data, that advertising interacts with personal experience. Where the item in question is highly visible and likely to be the object of admiration or derision, such as sporting equipment, young persons turn to their peers for approval before purchasing/requesting the item. When it is a matter of personal satisfaction where any person's opinion is equally valid or invalid, television or other advertising holds the key to influencing the young person's decision. Thus, it seems clear that television advertising can have an important influence on the purchase decisions of young viewers, but questions remain about the extent of this influence.

It can be seen, in the results of studies such as those conducted by The Child, Inc. (The Gene Reilly Group/Meringoff, Ward, & Diamond, 1973a; 1974), that even young children report learning about products from the media. Moreover, these studies suggest that certain types of products, such as toys, are more "media dependent"—as opposed to "word of mouth" or in-store promotion—in that many children report learning about these items through television or other media advertisements. This finding suggests that some advertising not only conveys information about particular products but creates "needs" or "wants" where none previously existed. Support for this notion can be found in the research results reported by Robertson and Rossiter (1974). These researchers studied children's attitudes toward various toys advertised on television during the pre-Christmas rush. They found that as the season progressed even the initially most skeptical youngsters were overcome by persistent advertising and indicated increasing interest in obtaining the advertised goods.

The Source of Children's Ideas About Presents They Have Requested*
"Where or how did you find out about (the present) you want?"
Base: Those responding who requested something

	Total	Sporting Goods	Toys	Electrical Equipment/ Appliances	Clothing	Games	Misc. Products
	780	373	181	76	49	18	102
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Friends	31	40	22	24	22	28	30
Advertising or commercial	26	21	42	29	20	39	18
Store	21	21	24	16	43	22	15
Brothers/sisters	6	8	2	7	8	11	8
Parents	5	4	6	9	2	0	8
Other	14	12	9	22	10	22	23
Don't know	5	4	3	4	8	0	7

Note: Sample does not sum across because of multiple responses.
Data sums to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

*Source: The Gene Reilly Group (1975).

Table 1:
The Source of Children's Ideas About Presents They Have Requested.

Whether children actually obtained the products advertised on television depends in part on their ability to influence their parents to purchase these items. The evidence, from several studies, suggests that viewing television commercials leads to increases in children's attempts to influence their parents to purchase the desired goods (Adler, Lesser, Meringoff, Robertson, Rossiter, & Ward, 1980; Ward, Wackman, & Wartella, 1977). In one study (Goldberg & Gorn, 1977), preschoolers who had seen television toy commercials were more likely to make "materialistic" rather than "social" choices when given the opportunity to choose various items. In another study by Galst and White (1976) preschoolers' interests in specific television commercials were related to their specific attempts to influence their mothers' shopping patterns when they accompanied them to the supermarket.

We know that children watch a considerable amount of television and in the course of such viewing are exposed to a large number of advertisements—in excess of 20 thousand per year by some estimates (Adler

& Faber, 1980). We have seen that such viewing is related to attempts to obtain the products either directly or through pressure on parents. One possible reason for this rather striking influence of television advertising on children's behavior is the suggestion that young children fail to understand the entrepreneurial intent of television commercials. The fact that some advertisers are less than completely candid about the value or limitations of their products (Atkin & Heald, 1977; Choate, 1971; 1980; Council on Children, Media, and Merchandising, 1977) has been well documented, but one can also ask about children's understanding of television advertisements even when they are not designed to be deceptive.

The results of several studies are fairly consistent in demonstrating that young children fail to understand the basic distinction between programs and commercials and do not comprehend the basic selling intent of television advertisements. For example Ward (1972; 1980) reported that children under eight years of age show little variation in their attention to programs versus commercials, and Roberts and Bachen (1981) report that the bulk of the evidence indicates that children under seven fail to grasp the persuasive intent of television advertisements.

Some Conclusions

We have seen, in this review, that some of the concerns about television advertising expressed by public interest groups such as Action for Children's Television (Charren, 1979) have some empirical support. Young children seem to be unable to discern the basic selling intent of advertisements (Ward, 1980) and even older children's initial skepticism about advertising can be overwhelmed by a steady diet of commercial enticements (Robertson & Rossiter, 1974). Moreover, some advertisements are designed to overrepresent the importance or the necessity of the products while minimizing the limitations of these "wonder toys" (Atkin & Heald, 1977; Choate, 1980). Thus it is possible that some advertising for some older children and most advertising for most younger children is misleading. The actions that these young viewers are urged to take, based upon this information, may result in family conflicts, maladaptive diets, and diminished "great expectations."

We will return to this issue in the concluding section on Public Policy and Private Action, but here it is worth noting that the concern about advertising directed to children is not limited to public interest groups and government regulatory agencies but is felt throughout the advertising and broadcasting industries. Ward (1978) and Turk (1979) have described the dilemma facing the industry and Adler (1979) has forecasted some policy implications of this growing body of research. Finally, although the Federal Trade Commission's (1978) proposal to limit advertising on children's television has been impounded, it is likely that there will be increased calls for changes in the structure of children's television and the nature of advertising directed to young viewers.

Prosocial Television

Most of the early research on children and television was focused upon the impact of televised violence to the exclusion of other forms of interpersonal behavior which might be acquired from the medium (c.f., Comstock & Fisher, 1975; Murray, Nayman, & Atkin, 1972). However, it seems reasonable to assume that "prosocial" or "socially valued" behavior, such as sharing, cooperation, or helping, could be learned as easily as assaulting. Recently, there has been an upsurge in research devoted to the impact of prosocial television programs.

Much of the current research in this area is based upon a social learning framework which can be seen in some of the attempts to influence children's moral judgment (e.g., Bandura & McDonald, 1963; Cowan, Langer, Heavenrich, & Nathanson, 1969) and cognitive development and conceptual functioning (e.g., Debus, 1970; Murray, 1974; Zimmerman & Rosenthal, 1974). More recent studies have employed standard television programs that are assessed to contain a large number of prosocial messages in an effort to study the impact of more natural television viewing on children's socially valued behavior (see Stein & Friedrich, 1975; Rushton, 1976a, 1976b). For example, the Stein and Friedrich (1972) study, which was discussed earlier, found that even a relatively brief exposure to 12 episodes of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, a program which stressed the themes of sharing and cooperative behavior, was associated with increases in cooperation, nurturance, verbalizing one's feelings, and self-regulation. Other studies, all employing various episodes of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* (Collins, 1974, 1975; Cosgrove & McIntyre, 1974; Friedrich & Stein, 1975; Stein, Friedrich, & Tahsler, 1973), have found increases in the learning of such prosocial concepts as helping, sharing, task persistence, cooperation, and empathy. Two other studies using the same program (Fox, Stein, Friedrich, & Kipnis, 1977; Singer & Singer, 1976), found increases in young children's productive fantasy, imaginativeness of play, and creativity.

Some studies have explored the use of other types of programs such as *Sesame Street* (Coates, Pusser, & Goodman, 1976) or *Lassie* (Sprafkin, Liebert, & Poulos, 1975) and have reported similar increases in prosocial behavior. In an extension of this line of research, Ahammer and Murray (1979) presented preschool children with a diet of either prosocial or neutral television programs for one-half hour per day, five days per week, for four weeks. The prosocial diet consisted of standard commercial children's programs such as *Lassie, I Love Lucy, Gilligan's Island, The Brady Bunch*, etc., which were judged, on the basis of detailed content analyses (Rubinstein, Liebert, Neale, & Poulos, 1974), to be high in prosocial themes. The neutral programs were drawn from many of the same series, but were low in both prosocial and aggressive themes. The results indicated significant increases in helping behavior when the children who had viewed the prosocial diet were contrasted with those who viewed the control, neutral television programs.

The results of these studies, which operate within the framework of social learning theory, can be used to develop a wide range of television programs designed to foster specific educational and social skills. Perhaps the most familiar example of this type of programming and applied research is the work of Children's Television Workshop in developing *Sesame Street* (Ball & Bogatz, 1970; Lesser, 1974; Palmer, 1973). A recent addition to this trend in children's television is *Fat Albert*, a series of programs developed by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the United States. Each episode in the series is designed around one major theme with a variety of prosocial messages embedded in the program. In assessing the effectiveness of this format for transmission of socially valued information, the researchers (Columbia Broadcasting System, 1974) interviewed children who had viewed an episode of *Fat Albert* under either "captive" or natural (home) viewing conditions. In the captive condition children were presented with a videotape of an episode and interviewed immediately after the viewing period. In the natural viewing condition, interviewers contacted the children within five hours after the episode had been broadcast on national television. The results indicated that approximately 90% of all children interviewed could recall at least one prosocial message. Furthermore, there was no significant difference between the captive and natural viewing conditions in terms of the number of children receiving one or more prosocial messages. This American television network has continued this line of research in the production of four additional series for young children (*The*

Harlem Globetrotters Popcorn Machine and *The U.S. of Archie)* and adolescents *(SHAZAM* and *ISIS),* and reports similar success in "reaching" these viewers (Columbia Broadcasting System, 1977).

Additional program formats have been designed to encourage American children's awareness of the life styles of children living in other parts of the world *(Big Blue Marble).* In one evaluation of the effectiveness of this program, Roberts and his colleagues (Roberts, Herold, Hornby, King, Sterne, Whitely, & Silverman, 1974) presented young viewers with four episodes of this series and measured pre- and post-viewing attitude change in a variety of areas such as ethnocentrism and perceived similarity. Among the major findings were increases in perceived similarity and well-being of children around the world and a decrease in endorsement of ethnocentric beliefs. It should be noted that the range of behavior that could be considered to be "prosocial" is not restricted to simply helping, sharing, and cooperation. Perhaps "socially valued" is a more adequate term to describe these developing programs because the content of these new series addresses issues such as the sex-role stereotyping noted by Sternglanz and Serbin (1974) by presenting competent female heroes such as *ISIS* (Columbia Broadcasting System, 1977), or promotes career awareness in programs such as *Countdown to the 70's, Watcha Gonna Do,* and *Bread and Butterflies* (Leifer & Lesser, 1976). Whether prosocial or socially valued, it is a format whose time has come.

Role Portrayals: Television as Reality

All television programs, whether documentary or drama, soap opera or science fiction, present a reality—a televised reality. Television may be seen as a provider of several definitions of reality. None of these definitions are necessarily true or false, correct or incorrect, but the television viewer is a spectator and must interpret the reality presented on the screen in relation to his or her own view of the world.

Most viewers are prepared to believe that the events portrayed on a news program or in a news format are real (e.g., Feshbach, 1972, 1976). And while most viewers have no difficulty in distinguishing entertainment from news programs, it is likely that entertainment programs also provide the viewer with versions of reality. Noble (1975) in England suggested that children's perceptions of occupational roles and ethnic stereotypes are related to the secondhand or vicarious experiences on television. To the extent that the child lacks any countervailing personal experience the more vulnerable he or she is to the televised reality. Other studies conducted with English school children have confirmed the notion that the television world is most powerful when the child does not have firsthand experiences of the reality in question. For example, Faulkner (1975) found that Asian adolescent girls, living in Britain in a protected environment which prevented contact with English girls, tended to construe English girls and their families in a manner that resembled the media reality rather than veridical judgments. Similar distortions of reality, resulting from a media-based conception, have been demonstrated for children's ethnic stereotypes (P. Hartmann & Husband, 1974).

A study of American children by Greenberg and Reeves (1976) found that the *amount* of television viewed by 8- to 11-year-olds was related to perceived reality in that heavy viewers were much more likely to perceive television portrayals in entertainment programs as real. These results were strongest for the youngest and the least bright children. One of the surprising findings of this study was that the amount of personal experience with the type of person portrayed in the television programs increased rather than decreased the degree of perceived reality. However, it is difficult to estimate the children's personal experience: When the children in the Greenberg and Reeves study indicated that they knew policemen or blacks, it may have been a very superficial knowledge which would facilitate the acquisition of televised reality constructions.

Similar findings have been demonstrated for adults. In a series of studies in the United States, Gerbner (1974), Gerbner and Gross (1980, 1976) contrasted the world views of heavy and light viewers of television. They found, in general, that heavy viewing was associated with cultural and social stereotypes, particularly with regard to sex and occupational roles. They also found that heavy viewers and those adults under 30 (a group who were likely to have grown up with television in their homes) were more likely to exaggerate their estimates of the probability of a violent encounter than were the light viewers. An expanded study, conducted in 1976, confirmed the earlier findings for adults and extended the "cultivation analysis" to children. Gerbner and his associates (Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox, & Signorielli, 1977) report: "Heavy viewers in all sex, age, education, income, reading and church attendance groups were more imbued with the television view of a 'mean world' than were light viewers in the same groups" (p. 9). Furthermore, children tended to give more television-world-view answers and to learn more of the televised reality. However, Wober (1978) failed to replicate the Gerbner and Gross (1976) findings in a study of British viewers.

On the other hand, Hartmann and Husband (1972), in England, demonstrated how the media define or help to define the audience member's view of race relations. Interviewing people both from areas with small and large immigrant populations, they found that those who lived in the more densely populated immigrant areas were more likely to rely on their own experience and less likely to rely on the media. In another study examining adults' conceptions of the role of union and management in industrial relations, Hartmann (1976) nicely captures the potential for media distortion by stating "who ever heard of a militant employer?"

The suggestion that the amount and nature of one's television viewing may shape various dimensions of one's view of the world was examined by studying children's conceptions of crime and occupational roles in

relation to their television viewing. The children interviewed were participants in a longitudinal study of the impact of the introduction and diffusion of television in three Australian towns (Murray & Kippax, 1977, 1978, 1980).

To examine the global influence of varying television content, the authors returned to the towns after all three had had some experience with television and questioned the 8- to 12-year-old children about their conception of the structure of crime and the similarities and differences among various occupational roles. One potential hypothesis was that the extent of exposure to television in both duration and diversity, ranging from the High-TV to the New-TV towns, should be related to the differentiation of one's conception of the worlds of crime and work. Moreover, since the High-TV town was the only one exposed to commercial television, and commercial television contained more programs depicting police, spies, and private eyes involved in law and disorder, it was hypothesized that the children in the High-TV town should have a more differentiated conception of crime and punishment.

To test these various hypotheses, the children were presented with a selection of seven illegal activities (spying, murder, drunkenness, assault, kidnapping, bank robbery, and shoplifting). The items were presented in pairs and repeated so that each item was paired with every other item. For each pair, the child was asked to rate the similarity of these two crimes on a five-point scale from very much alike to not at all alike. Thus, the child was presented with the pairs drunkenness and bank robbery, kidnapping and drunkenness, murder and kidnapping, etc., and asked to rate the similarity of these crimes. A similar procedure was followed in order to evaluate the structure of the world of work presenting a selection of seven occupations (teacher, nurse, newsreader, sales clerk, TV star, detective, and me) paired in all combinations and rated in terms of similarity. Multidimensional scaling analysis was employed to extract the children's structure of criminal activity and occupational roles.

The information presented in Figure 4 describes the multidimensional plots of children's conception of crime in the three towns. It can be noted in Figure 4a and 4b that the children in both the New-TV town and Low-TV town produce a straightforward two-dimensional structure of crime. The two dimensions appear to be the degree of seriousness and a property vs. person dimension. However, the children in the High-TV town (Figure 4c and 4d) produce a much more differentiated conception of crime consisting of three dimensions. The first two dimensions are similar to the other two towns, namely, seriousness and property vs. person. However, in the High-TV town these two dimensions were overlaid by a third dimension which is not clearly defined. It is possible that this third dimension is in some way related to the frequency of occurrence in real-life and on television. The possibility that this dimension is a melange of the real and televised worlds is suggested by the ordering of drunkenness, spying, and shoplifting. Nevertheless, it is clear that the children in the High-TV town have a much more differentiated conception of the world of crime than their peers in the New-TV or Low-TV towns.

This expanded view of the world of crime in High-TV town contrasts sharply with these children's understanding of the world of work. When asked about the similarity of the various occupations, it is the children in the New-TV town who produce the most complex three dimensional conception of occupational roles while those with greater experience with television produce occupational structures that are more conventionally described along the lines of sex-role types in a two-dimensional frame. Thus, it is possible that the nature of one's television experience can influence some broad dimensions of one's world view.

Setting the Agenda

Another way in which television can influence the viewer's conception of realty is through selective overemphasis on a restricted range of topics or issues. In this instance, the nature of the influence is not a direct imposition of particular content on the viewer in the sense that the viewer is told not "what-to-think" but rather "what-to-think-about." In other words, the media set the agenda and select particular issues that are deemed "important for public debate." It follows that to the extent that there is competition and variation across media, there may, at any one time, be a wide variety of agenda promulgated by newspapers, radio,

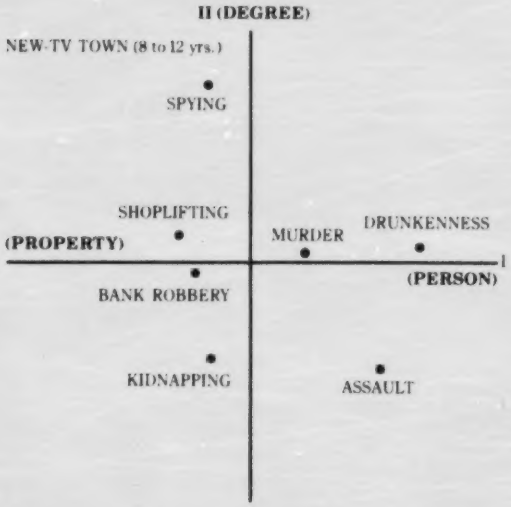

Figure 4a.
Children's conception of crime in the New-TV town.

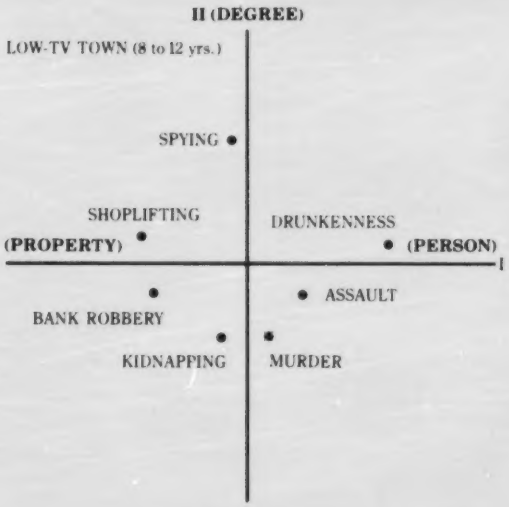

Figure 4b.
Children's conception of crime in the Low-TV town.

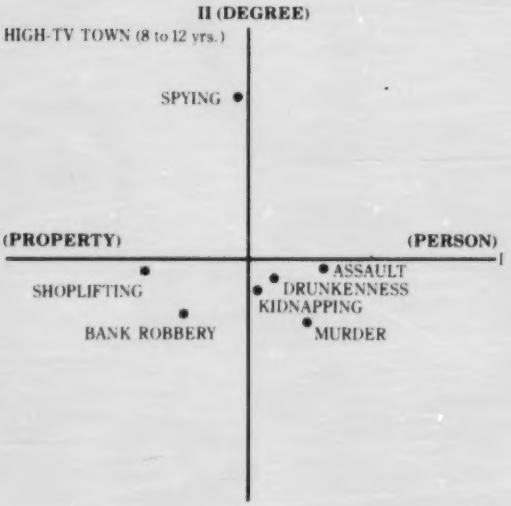

Figure 4c.
Children's conception of crime in the High-TV town—dimensions I & II.

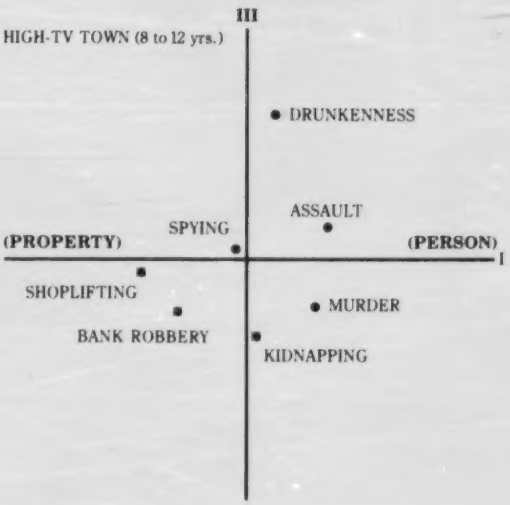

Figure 4d.
Children's conception of crime in the High-TV town—dimensions I & III.

television, and other media. However, when there is overlap among the various media, the agenda-setting function can be quite powerful. Most of the early research on agenda setting was conducted with adults and was concerned with political agenda setting during election periods. Some very early studies of the impact of media on voting behavior (e.g., Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954) have noted that most elections are fought on the "salience" of issues rather than content. The basic concept of agenda setting has existed in the communications literature for many years, but it was given new emphasis by the work of McCombs and Shaw (1972).

Following the recent re-emergence of agenda setting, there has been considerable research activity in this area. There are a number of reviews of this literature (e.g., Becker, McLeod, & McCombs, 1975; Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McCombs, & Roberts, 1978; McLeod, Becker, & Byrnes, 1974) which demonstrate that there is a relationship between media agenda and public agenda in varying contexts. However, the relations between media agenda and public agenda are rather gross and far more needs to be known about the conditions which maximize and minimize the relationship. One of these factors is the audience and, apart from the relationship of demographic variables, we know very little about which members of the audience are most receptive to the influence of agenda setting. It is possible that younger viewers would be more susceptible to the agenda-setting influence, but there is very little research on this issue.

Television and the Other World

In conclusion, it is clear from the available evidence on agenda setting and cultivation analyses that the television world can influence and, in some cases, supplant the individual realities constructed by the viewer. It has been suggested that the extent of media influence is maximized when the viewer has little personal experience which might provide a countervailing force against the televised view. Those with relevant personal experience seem better able to negotiate a compromise between the televised and personal reality constructions. Support for this explanation comes from a series of studies on the credibility that children and adults ascribe to television (Graves, 1976, 1976; Leifer, 1976). In a series of interviews with black and white adults, Graves (1976) attempted to discover the ways in which viewers evaluated the reality of television portrayals of blacks and whites. Illustrative of some of the difficulties that viewers have in coming to grips with televised reality when they have only limited experience with the issues or characteristics portrayed, is an excerpt from an interview with a white woman concerning the portrayal of blacks on American television: "I don't know much about it, but it seems that all the black shows are all the same. It seems that they're showing all the black people in *one way on almost all the shows, so maybe this is true* [emphasis added]... I think the white people are true-to-life and the black people must be true-to-life. I don't know much about them, but all the shows show them and have them act the same way" (p. 1).

It is clear that television can and does act as a socializing agent. But whose reality is presented on television and what is the result of this electronic socialization? The most recent report by Gerbner and his colleagues (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980) helps to delineate television's role in fostering conceptions of the world which may not correspond to the world in which the viewer lives. These latest results confirm earlier findings which have consistently indicated that heavy television viewers are more fearful of the risks of crime and suspicious of others than their light-viewing peers. The authors contend that this "mean world syndrome" is a result of the heavy viewer's extensive exposure to the pervasive violence portrayed on American television screens. This conclusion is not without its controversial aspects. For a review of some of the recent findings see: Gerbner and Gross (1976a; 1976b; 1980); Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox and Signorielli (1977); Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox and Signorielli (1978); Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, Morgan and Jackson-Beeck (1979); Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli and Morgan (1980); and Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli (1980). Some of the more controversial aspects of this research program have drawn the fire of some critics such as Doob and Macdonald (1979); Hirsch (1980), Hughes (1980), Newcomb (1978), and Wober (1978) and the authors have thrown stones

(sometimes apples and oranges) at their critics glass houses (see: Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco, 1978a; 1978b; Gerbner & Gross, 1979; 1980; and Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980).

The fact that violence is a staple item in the television diet of all viewers—including children—can be demonstrated by inspection of Figure 5. These data, drawn from 13 years of monitoring network prime-time and children's programming, indicate that the levels of violence have been relatively stable during the period 1967 to 1979. Although there are differing levels in children's (highest) vs. adult or "family" viewing times, the within category levels have been fairly constant. For example, 92% of all programs broadcast during weekend children's daytime viewing contained some violence during 1979—this was a merciful decline from the 98% level in 1978. In general, 70% of the 1979 programs monitored contained some violence and nearly 75% of all leading characters were involved in violence. According to Gerbner and his colleagues, the television world is one "... in which men outnumber women three to one, young people comprise one-third and old people one-fifth of their real numbers, professionals and law enforcers dominate the occupations and an average of five acts of violence per prime-time hour (and four times that number per weekend daytime hour) involve more than half of all leading characters." (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980).

Of course, the real world is not as unhealthy as the television world but Gerbner and his associates suggest that the heavy viewer often fails to differentiate the two. When they asked heavy and light adult viewers about their fears of victimization, heavy viewers were more likely to state that fear of crime is a very serious personal problem. However, this fearfullness was also related to the viewer's personal life experience. These two results are examples of what Gerbner calls "mainstreaming" and "resonance," respectively. In mainstreaming, the television world supplants and distorts the viewer's conception of the real world—heavy viewers are more fearful than light viewers. In resonance, however, the television world confirms and then magnifies the viewer's real world experience—heavy viewer's who live in cities are much more fearful than heavy viewers who live in suburbs and both are more fearful than their light viewing city or suburban counterparts. Thus, the violent world of television can both instill and intensify the fear that the real world is a mean and dangerous place. Such fears are in themselves dangerous because they have the potential to become "self-fulfilling-prophecies" and profoundly affect the ways in which such viewers structure their real world lives. The roles portrayed on television can become the roles adopted in life.

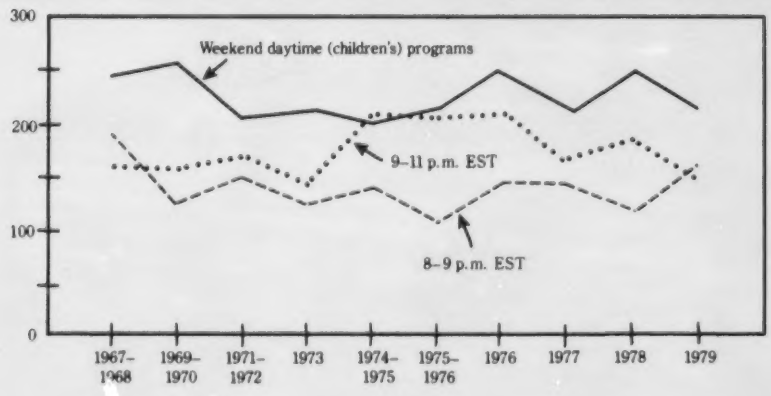

Figure 5.
The level of violence in children's and prime-time television programming, 1967–1979.
Source: Gerbner, et al. (1980).

Television in Daily Life

What are the broad effects of television as an "event" in the child's life? The possibility that the television world can influence the child's view of reality was discussed in a previous section. The research reviewed in this section will be focused upon the changes in children's daily activities and life style brought about by the simple availability and use of television.

Comparative Viewing Patterns

In the United Kingdom, Greenberg (1976) reports that children spend about 2¾ hours per day watching television. For older children (12 to 15 years), the average viewing time increases to 3 or 3½ hours per day. These findings for British children accord with the recent results of a survey of the viewing patterns of children and youth (5 to 18 years) in Australia (Tindall & Reid, 1975; Tindall, Reid, & Goodwin, 1977): children viewed an average of three hours per day with heavier viewing on weekends vs. weekdays; and there was a constant rise in the amount of viewing by older children (7 to 9 years) and preteens (10 to 12 years). In the United States, various studies (Lyle & Hoffman, 1972; Murray, 1972; Schramm, Lyle, & Parker, 1961) have indicated that children view between two and three hours per day, and that the amount of viewing increases to a peak in preteen/early teen years and then declines. In Canada, a similar pattern occurs (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1973, 1975) in which young children (2 to 6 years) watch about 20 hours per week while older children (7 to 11 years) watch about 22 hours per week.

In West Germany and Austria, Saxer (1975; Prix Jeunesse, 1976) reports that the average viewing time for 3- to 13-year-olds is 79 minutes per day in West Germany and 58 per day in Austria. An Italian study of the viewing patterns of children aged 0 to 3 (Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1974, 1975a) reports considerable contact with television beginning at four months. However, these precocious infant viewers were observed to scan the television screen for only brief intervals lasting, at most, only six minutes.

In Switzerland, the picture is very similar to Austria and West Germany. A survey of children's viewing, conducted by Schweizerisch Radio- und Fernsehengesellschaft (1974a), indicated that the average amount of viewing was 78 minutes per day in German Switzerland, 108 minutes per day in French Switzerland, and almost two hours per day in Italian Switzerland. As in other countries, viewing reaches a peak around 13 years and then declines.

In Sweden, von Feilitzen (1975, 1976) and Filipson (1976) report that the majority of Swedish children start paying serious attention to television at about three years. Once they have acquired concentration, preschool children view for about 1½ hours per day. The amount of viewing increases to about two hours per day for 10- to 14-year-olds and then, as in other countries, declines rapidly. In Norway, Werner (1971) reports a pattern similar to Sweden with the average viewing time holding at about 1½ hours per day. In Finland, the average viewing time, according to Haapasalo (1974) is about two hours per day.

In Japan, Furu (1971) reports that the average fourth grade child watches about two hours per day, while the tenth grade child watches about three hours per day.

In Israel, where there are only four hours of programming per evening, with three hours in Hebrew and one hour in Arabic, the average amount of viewing is between two and three hours (despite the fact that there is only a half-hour of children's programming and a half-hour of family programs such as *Bewitched* (Katz & Gurevitch, 1976; Shinar, Parnes, & Caspi, 1972).

The general pattern that emerges is that countries where there is a large amount of television available (i.e., Australia, Canada, Japan, United Kingdom, and United States) are associated with greater viewing on the part of young children, about two to three hours per day. In the Scanadinavian and European countries for which information was available, the viewing time tends to be lower (i.e., one to two hours vs. two to three). However, in all countries, the age-related pattern of viewing is identical; a gradual rise in viewing time to a peak in early adolescence and then a sharp decline. The differential amount of viewing in these two groups of countries is obviously related to the amount of programming available; both the sheer numbers of hours and the timing of broadcasts (e.g., the first group of countries frequently have programming available

in the early morning hours as well as evening/afternoon periods). And yet, simple magnitude of available television is not the entire explanation because that would not account for the Israeli variation nor the variation in viewing by children living in German, French, and Italian Switzerland.

One further caveat, the figures quoted above are averages and there are a number of variables which are associated with changes in viewing for particular types of children such as: age and intelligence—among very young children, the bright child tends to spend more time watching than his or her less bright peer, but this pattern reverses in early school years (Lyle & Hoffman, 1972); socioeconomic status—the higher the status the fewer hours spent watching (Dominick & Greenberg, 1970; Bogart, 1972); self-esteem—the higher the self-esteem, the fewer hours spent watching (Edgar, 1977a); sex (Greenberg, 1976); whether the child is a "high media user" or a "high print user" (Furu, 1971); and parental and family viewing patterns (Brown & Linne, 1976). It is important to note that the amount of time spent viewing television is not normally distributed but rather is very heavily negatively skewed. For example, Australian data (Murray & Kippax, 1978; Tindall, Reid, & Goodwin, 1977) demonstrate that the majority of children watch, on average, about 15 hours per week but the overall averages from most studies are inflated because there is a minority (perhaps a substantial minority, e.g. 25%) who view 30 to 80 hours per week.

Changes in Daily Activities

One may ask what changes take place when television is introduced into a community; are some activities displaced and/or does television stimulate other activities? The major studies of the impact of television on children include: Himmelweit, Oppenheim and Vince (1958) and Himmelweit and Swift (1976) in England; Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) in North America; and Furu (1962, 1971) in Japan. In addition, smaller scale studies have been conducted in Australia (Murray & Kippax, 1978), Canada (Williams, 1977), Italy (Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1975b), Jamaica (Lasker, 1975), Norway (Werner, 1971), Scotland (Brown, Cramond, & Wilde, 1974), and Switzerland (Schweizerisch Radio-und Fernsehgesellschaft, 1974a, 1974b). In general, the results of these studies suggest that there are decreases in radio listening and cinema attendance as well as changes in patterns of daily living, such as sleeping, and modifications of social activities, such as visiting friends. However, precise specification of the nature of television's influence is hampered by the difficulty of obtaining sufficiently large, naturally occurring samples of people who do not view television but live in social contexts that are directly comparable to those of the television viewers.

Some of the more recent studies have attempted to gauge television's impact on social life by comparing the daily time budgets of persons living in homes with or without television (e.g., Katz & Gurevitch, 1976; Robinson, 1972a; Edgar, 1977) or in countries with markedly different states of television diffusion (e.g., Szalai, 1972). However, Coffin (1955) and Robinson (1972a) have provided extensive discussion of the methodological problems involved in comparing television owners and non-owners drawn from geographical areas where television is available to both groups as in the case of Edgar's (1977b) study in Australia. Belson (1967) has noted that these problems are not resolved by sampling from areas with or without television if the towns are markedly different or are sampled at different historical periods in the diffusion of television. With these warnings in mind, we have found that the findings of the various studies, using different approaches in different countries, are remarkably consistent, especially with reference to radio listening, cinema attendance, and reading.

Radio listening. Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) reported that children from the sixth and tenth grades in Radiotown, a Canadian town without access to television, spent about three hours per day listening to radio while their peers in Teletown listened to the radio for only 1.3 hours per day. A similar displacement of radio was found in Australia, by Murray and Kippax (1978) when they compared the radio listening of 8- to 12-year-old children living in a town without television with the radio listening of their peers who lived in a Low-TV town (one channel, for only one year) or a High-TV town (two channels, five years experience). The children in the No-TV town listened to the radio for more than four hours per day while those in the High-TV and Low-TV towns listened for three to two hours per day, respectively. Himmelweit,

Oppenheim and Vince (1958) reported that their English school children who were the non-viewing controls, listened to the radio five times longer than the children who had television. However, they also point out that future viewers were keener radio listeners than the controls before television arrived. In Scotland, Brown, Cramond and Wilde (1974) also noted a marked decrease in radio listening when television was introduced into a small Scottish town. Werner (1971) in Norway reports decreases in listening to "speech-only" radio programs among younger children while, for adolescents, there was no decline in listening to popular music on radio.

Movies. A similar pattern of decline in cinema attendance is reported in most countries examined, many cinemas have been closed. Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) in Canada and the United States, Himmelweit, Oppenheim and Vince (1958) in England, Werner (1971) in Norway, and Murray and Kippax (1978) in Australia all report major reductions in cinema attendance. As with radio, the Australian study found a novelty effect in which the largest reductions in cinema attendance occurred among children for whom television was newest, in the Low-TV town. In addition, Himmelweit et al. (1958) reported that the reduction in cinema was most marked among the 10- to 11-year-olds and the effect was not evident among the 13- to 14-year-olds. The authors suggest that television served the same functions as cinema for the pre-adolescent, namely, free audio-visual entertainment. However, the function of cinema for the adolescent had little to do with the content that was being shown, serving rather as a reason to leave home and a meeting place for social engagements. Further support for this notion comes from the Australian finding that one year after the closure of the only cinema in the High-TV town, parents and youth groups combined to establish an informal weekend cinema in a church hall. We shall return to this topic in the discussion of uses and gratifications research (Section VI).

Reading. The results of various studies of television's impact on reading are somewhat inconsistent. However, it appears that some of this inconsistency can be explained by differentiating between reading comics vs. books. Murray and Kippax (1978) found that reading in general declined when television was available. But other measures confirmed that the decline was operative only for comics and book reading actually increased with increasing experience with television. Similarly, Schramm et al. (1961), Himmelweit et al. (1958), and Brown et al. (1974) all report declines in comic reading. With regard to book reading, Schramm reports no difference between viewers and non-viewers, Himmelweit et al. report a decrease in book reading followed by a return to pre-television patterns, and Werner (1971) in Norway reports a drop in the number of books read when television arrived, and this is supported by Furu (1962, 1971) among Japanese children. Another approach to this question of television's impact on reading is Corteen's (1977) analysis of children's reading *skills* in three Canadian towns with and without television (Notel, Unitel, and Multitel) as well as before and after the introduction of television in Notel. Corteen found that at Time 1 (i.e., before television came to Notel) children in Grades 2 and 3 in Notel were superior to their peers in Unitel, and these in turn, were superior to the children in Multitel. At Time 2 (two years after television came to Notel) the previous sample was retested and an age-cohort sample was added. The results indicated that the level of reading skills in the Notel children had significantly deteriorated. It should be noted that for children in Grade 8, there were no differences either across the towns or from Time 1 to Time 2.

Free time and social interaction. It is more difficult to unravel the effects of television on the social life of the child. This is due, partly, to the different categories used by the various researchers. In general, it is the unstructured outdoor activities that appear to suffer most. Himmelweit et al. found a greater decline in walking and being out with friends than in playing or watching sport. Similarly, Murray and Kippax (1978) found linear decreases across the three towns (with increasing television) in general unstructured outdoor activities, but watching sport was also affected. However, the initially large decrement that occurred in the town in which television had just been introduced (Low-TV) recovered in the High-TV town.

Organized social activities such as dances and clubs are only very slightly affected by television. Werner (1971), Murray and Kippax (1978), and Himmelweit, Oppenheim and Vince (1958) all report similar results. Once again, indoor games and parties decreased with the introduction of television, but the effect is

ameliorated with increasing television experience.

Unlike Himmelweit et al., the Australian study did not find any decrement in "sitting around doing nothing" nor was there a decrement in playing with friends. This difference between the English and Australian studies may relate to cultural differences in the manner in which these different groups of children conceptualize the dimensions of their daily time budgets. We cannot be sure the "doing nothing" in these two cultures would include the same range of "non-activities."

General effects. The pattern of television's influence on the life styles of children living in America, Australia, Canada, England, and Norway is one of an initial marked decrement in a wide range of activities following the introduction of television, followed by a modest return of interest in these displaced activities. However, alternative media (i.e., cinema, radio, and comics) and some unstructured outdoor activities are much more profoundly and persistently affected. In the studies in which the design allowed for the measurement of recovery effects, cinema and radio listening manifested some slight return toward the pre-television levels. However, Corteen's (1977) finding of a deterioration in reading skills with increasing experience with television in three Canadian towns raises concern about the qualitative (as opposed to the quantitative) changes in reading that are associated with television viewing. Related to these findings is the continued decrement in reading of comic books which may underscore the functional equivalence of television and comics but not television and books (for comics, the function may be time-filling). The decrements in outdoor activities are difficult to explain, but with increasing availability of television, there may be a gain in indoor activity at the expense of outdoor interests. Nevertheless, the overall result is one of a return to pre-television levels. It is possible that this re-emergence of displaced activities is actually stimulated by television viewing. This hypothesis is supported by the increase found for playing with friends (Murray & Kippax, 1978) and the increases in time spent on hobbies (Murray & Kippax, 1978; Werner, 1971). Thus, television, although an initial displacer of social activities may ultimately foster increased interpersonal contact by serving as a focal point for shared activities, particularly inside the viewer's home.

Conclusions

The introduction of television does result in the displacement of some activities. However, it appears that with increasing experience with television, some of this displacement effect dissipates. This rather robust finding can best be illustrated by looking at clusters of activities such as the use of alternative media or social contacts. In this regard, the data presented in Figure 6 are drawn from the analysis of the leisure activities and life styles of children and parents living in three Australian towns which have differing levels of experience with television. As described previously, the television experience ranges from none (No-TV) to one year and one channel (Low-TV) to five years and two channels (High-TV). The four clusters of activities that were examined were: *alternative media* (radio, reading, records, cinema, theater/concerts, and public talks); *social engagement* (visiting friends, dances/clubs, indoor activities, group activities, outdoor activities, playing sport, and watching live sporting events); *individual interests* (hobbies and animal care); and *time filling* (driving around and sitting around doing nothing). It can be seen, in Figure 1, that as one moves from the No-TV town to the Low-TV town, there are marked decrements in all four clusters for children and in three of the four clusters for mothers and fathers. Also, the most dramatic decrements were those for mothers' and fathers' involvement in alternative media. The other important feature that is evident in Figure 5 is the fact that many of the activities which were severely depressed in the Low-TV town begin to manifest some recovery in the patterns of adults' and children's behavior in the High-TV town. Although the recovery effect is most marked for children there are some modest recovery trends for parents as well.

Given the curvilinear relationship between television and social activities at Time 1, the researchers returned at Time 2, approximately one year after the former No-TV town had begun to receive television. The information presented in Figure 7 sets out the pattern of daily activities for 8- to 12-year-olds in the three towns before television and again following the introduction of television at Time 2. This cross-sectional analysis indicates that in the Post-TV phase, the town with the lowest level of Social Engagement activities

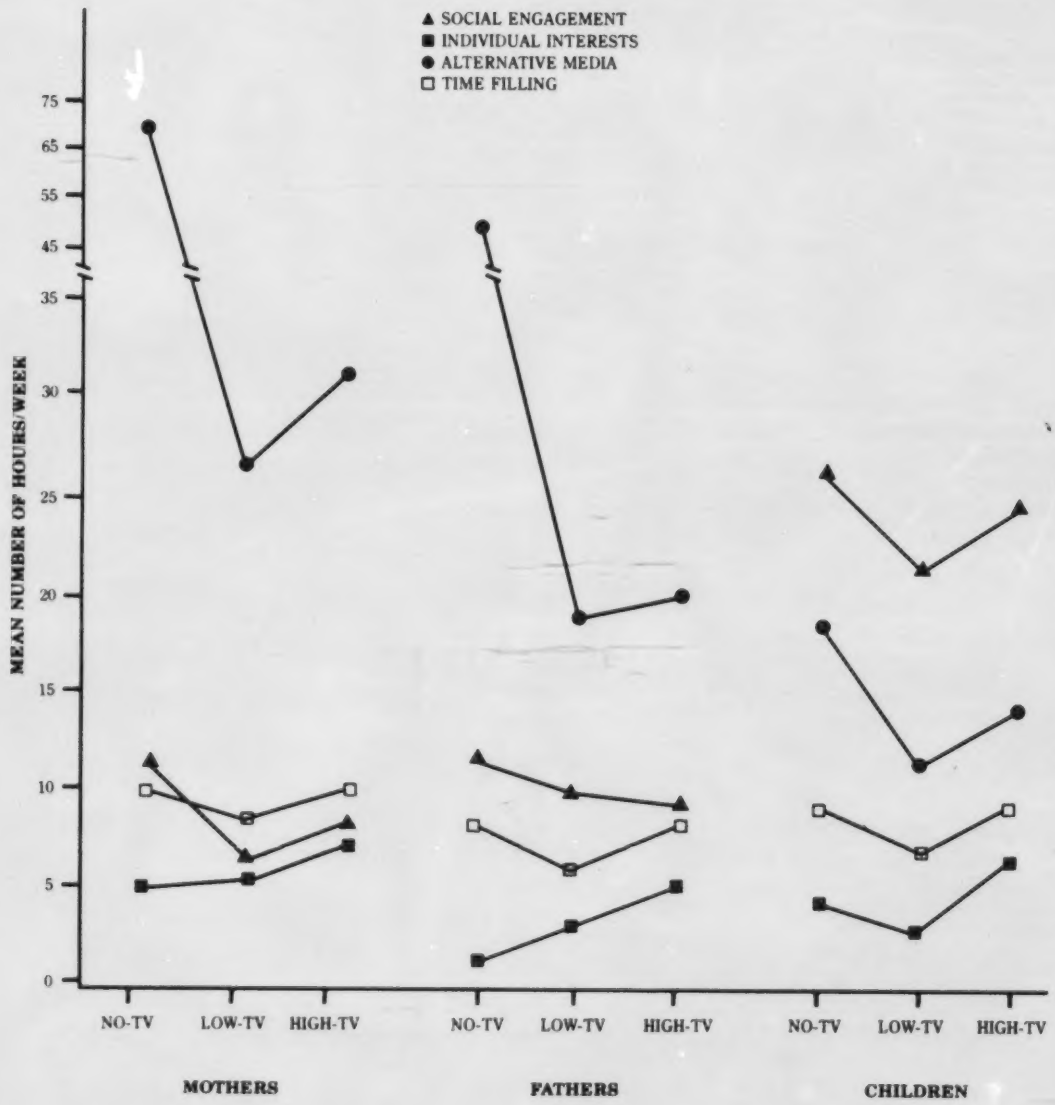

Figure 6.
Parents' and children's activity patterns in three towns with differing television experience.

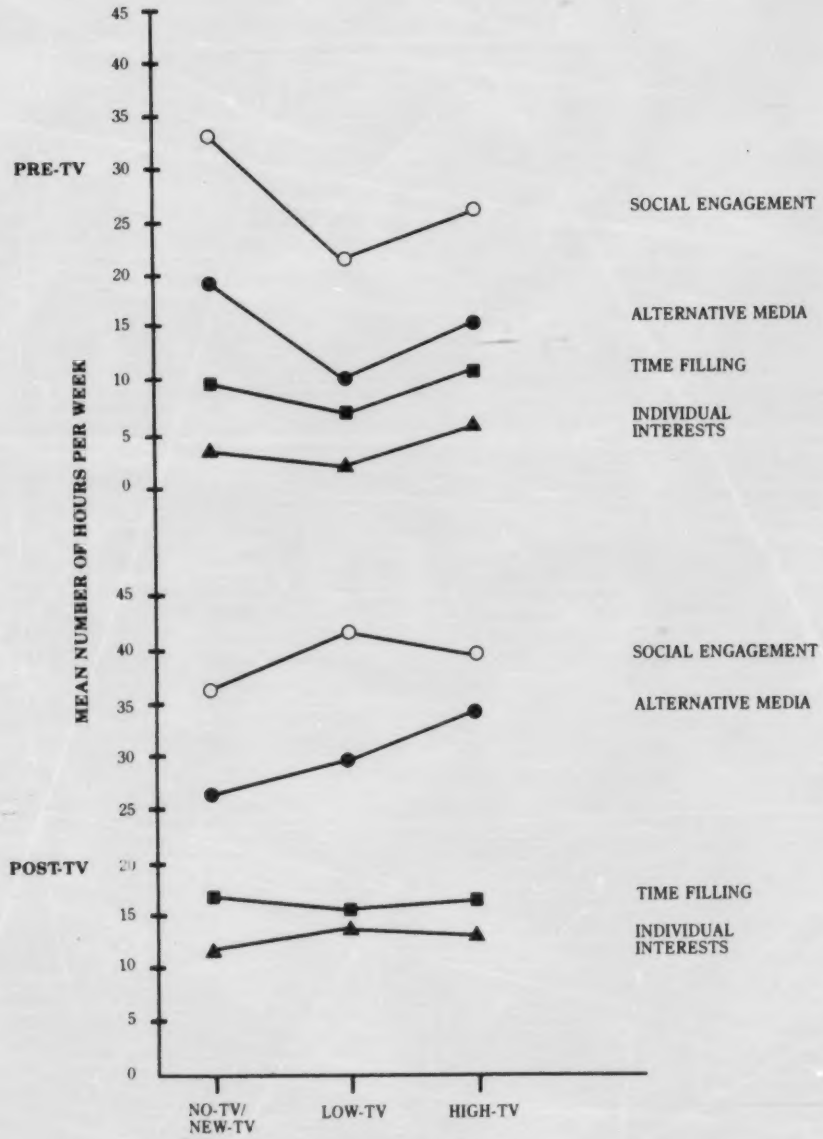

Figure 7.
Children's activity patterns before and after the introduction of television.

and use of Alternative Media is the New-TV town. Relatively similar patterns were observed in the pre- to post-contrasts in children matched for age and socioeconomic status.

Television does not appear to have a long-lasting displacing effect on children's life styles. Most of the changes reported in the various studies discussed above were observed when television was establishing itself as a major element in our lives, but as Himmelweit (1977) suggests, when television becomes extensively used, it becomes part of the background of leisure. The foreground, she suggests, is occupied by other things such as people, music, sport, and hobbies. Those who watch television most are the preadolescent child and the older adult, those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and the less well educated. Television may be serving a time-filling function for these people; it may fill in and kill time for those who do not have the education, money, or ability for other outlets. Television is cheap and convenient; it is on tap to be turned to when there is nothing else available.

Another important pattern that emerges from the studies reviewed above is the suggestion that television is, in some ways, functionally similar to radio and cinema. As Himmelweit (1977) points out: "The principle of functional equivalence predicts that an entertainment or activity will be displaced by the newer one provided it serves the same needs as the established activity but does so more cheaply or conveniently" (p. 6). However, it is important to remember that this process of functional equivalence and displacement will vary from individual to individual, or for the same individual at different periods in his or her life. For example, it appears that for adolescents television does not provide the venue for dating that the cinema does nor does it serve the same function as radio in purveying popular music knowledge which is a coin of exchange for adolescent social contacts (see Chaffee & Tims, 1976).

The notion that television is, at least for adults and younger children, somewhat functionally equivalent to radio and cinema and that the functions served by these media are, to some extent, time-filling, is supported by a recent study of families without television in Australia (Edgar, 1977b). The 298 families who answered an advertisement in a Melbourne newspaper had never owned a television set or had got rid of it. Those who participated in this study were middle-aged and of higher socioeconomic status and educational attainment than the general population. Ninety-two percent indicated that they belonged to at least one club, and 82% indicated that they had a religious affiliation. They read widely, were more likely to go to the theater than to the cinema, the majority preferred classical music to other types of music and over 40% played one or more musical instruments. The chief reason for not having a television set was the fear that it would destroy the quality of their lives. They felt that television "makes people more passive," "is addictive," and is a major threat to family relationships and to community life.

Another common feature of viewers' evaluation of television is the feeling that it is a waste of time and, indeed, heavy viewers frequently express feelings of guilt about spending so much time watching television (Bower, 1973; Furu, 1971; Steiner, 1963). Perhaps television moves into the foreground of the lives of heavy viewers and becomes a habit for those with few other outlets.

The Structure of Children's Television

The nature of children's television seems to vary in accordance with the structure of the broadcasting system adopted by various countries. The major dimensions that can be used to differentiate national structures are ownership and control. Whether the ownership of transmission and production facilities is vested in the public or private sectors and whether the control exercised by various agencies is extensive or minimal, formal or informal, will profoundly influence the quantity and quality of programming available to the young viewer. Thus, it would seem worthwhile to pause and reflect on the structure of children's television.

Some Structural Variations

To begin this reflective process, one can review a sample of national broadcasting systems, noting differences in the form and content of the programming produced, as a prelude to questioning the role of intervention—either public or private—in the development of children's television.

In the course of reviewing the operational arrangements that various countries have made in the design of their national telecommunications systems, one is struck by the polarization of opinion concerning the nature of the "ideal" system. The basic dichotomy appears to be commercial vs. public television but there are those in the middle who favor a strong public system in tandem with a competitive commercial system. Although it is impossible, in the space available, to provide even a brief description of all national systems, the following sample of countries should give a feeling for the scope of the differences.

The core information on the nature of the broadcasting structures is drawn from the following sources: Canada, Ontario Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry (1976); Tunstall (1977); Action for Children's Television (1978a); and Lee (1980). It is important to remember that these descriptions are derived from reports published in the late 1970's and that changes in the specific details of regulations can occur rapidly. Nevertheless, these descriptions provide an historical account of the differences that have evolved in the various national structures.

Australia.

Television broadcasting began in Australia in 1956. There are usually four channels operating in the major urban areas. One channel is under the control of the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) a public and independent body which is financed by the government. The ABC does not carry advertising. The other three channels are owned and operated by independent commercial enterprises and are financed by advertising revenue. The amount of advertising is limited to 11 minutes in the hour during prime-time and 13 minutes at other times.

The ABC provides approximately 100 hours of entertainment and information programming each week. The three commercial channels provide about 140 hours of generally lighter programming each week. About 65% of all television programs in Australia are imported—mainly from the United States and the United Kingdom. However, in 1977, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (the government regulatory body) recommended that all stations be required to achieve an Australian content of 50% of all program time. The ABT requested more Australian content because it wished to ensure that "television is used to show Australia to Australians; to reinforce Australian values and reflect Australian attitudes and life styles." (Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 1977.)

There has been some concern expressed about violence on television and this was the subject of a Parliamentary study of children's television (Australia, Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, 1978). All programs produced or broadcast in Australia must conform to the Television Programme Standards which, until recently, have been regulated by the ABT. However, the current standards for programming and advertising are under review. It is anticipated that the development and implementation of standards will be left to the industry representative, the Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations (FACTS) in consultation with the Tribunal. (It should be noted that the Tribunal does not have authority over the government-funded Australian Broadcasting Commission.) However, the ABT has

retained control over the setting and monitoring of standards relating to children's television programming and advertising (Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 1980).

Austria.

Television broadcasting began in Austria in 1957. The monopoly, Osterreichischer Rundfunk (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) has been independent of the government since 1967. In a reorganization in 1974, this autonomous, non-profit body was bound by the constitution to ensure "objectivity and impartiality of reporting, due consideration of diversity of opinions, and consistent balance of programming" (Prix Jeunesse, 1976). There are two channels carrying national and regional broadcasts. School programs are broadcast in the morning and Channel 2 broadcasts only four hours per day in the evening and on weekends. Only one channel carries advertising and this is limited to 20 minutes per day clustered in four, five-minute bursts between 7:00 to 9:30 p.m. German, Hungarian and Czechoslovakian television can be received in some areas of the country.

Canada.

Canadians began receiving television in 1952 and, until 1961 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) had the monopoly. The CBC is a public, independent body financed primarily by parliamentary subsidy with additional revenue provided by advertising. In 1961, a second channel operated by the Canadian Television Network (CTV) was opened. It is composed of eight independent commercial stations. This private network operates along the lines of the American commercial network model. Advertising is limited to 12 minutes per hour. There are also a number of regional networks and independent stations as well as cable television. The CBC network broadcasts a full day from 8:00 a.m. to 1:00 a.m. in both French and English. The CTV network also broadcasts a full day from about 6:00 a.m. to midnight. The mandate of the CBC provides that it should be a balanced service of information and entertainment for people of different ages. Many programs, especially for the commercial network, are imported from the United States and Europe and there are many areas of Canada where American broadcasts can be received. During prime-time hours CBC programming has ⅔ Canadian content. There is concern about the dominance of American programs (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1975) and a growing concern about televised violence, which was the subject of a recent government inquiry (Canada, Ontario Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, 1956). The Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) regulates all aspects of licensing television stations, cable operations and networks.

Denmark.

Television broadcasting began in Denmark in 1954. Denmarks Radio (DR), a public corporation, was authorized to carry out radio and television broadcasting as the sole broadcaster. There is no advertising on DR programs. There is only one channel and broadcasting is limited to three to four hours per day. DR produces some of its own programs, including educational programs for children. The programming tends to be conservative and serious with a traditional emphasis on information programs. There is no written policy against violence and the broadcasting laws are more concerned with political balance and sex. Denmark imports about 52% of its programs from abroad and about half of the country can receive television signals from Sweden and Germany.

Finland.

Television began in Finland in 1957 and until 1964 it was privately owned. Since 1957 the state has licensed Oy. Yleisradio Ab. (The Finnish Broadcasting Company) as a monopoly. In theory, anyone may buy shares in the Company but the government owns about 92% and broadcasting is under close political control. Advertising is allowed and may account for 15% of the monthly time rented. Interruptions are allowed for commercials once in a 20-minute program and twice in a 35-minute program. There are two

channels and broadcasting begins about 6:00 a.m. Daytime viewing is restricted to educational broadcasts. There is a wide range of programming and 35% is imported. Most of the imported programs come from England but some are imported from the Soviet Union. In addition, some areas of the country can receive signals from the Soviet Union. The policy of the Finnish Broadcasting Company is to promote public education, to provide useful information and news, and to present suitable entertainment. In general violence is not allowed. However, documentary violence may be shown and fictional violence will be allowed if it is an intrinsic part of the artistic quality (Haapsalo, 1974).

France.

Broadcasting came under government sponsorship following the Second World War but in 1974 a reorganization aimed at decentralization resulted in a public company, Organisation Radiodiffusion et Television Francaise (ORTF), which controlled the hardware of both radio and television. This wholly government-owned corporation is responsible for the development, operation and maintenance of the distribution network. Also, four state-owned national program companies were organized; one for radio and three for television. Two channels, TF1 and A2 carry general programming and limited commercials. The third channel carries minority and religious programs, films and youth programs, and no commercials. There is no external censorship; however, each company must satisfy itself as to the quality and decency of the programs, and the accuracy and objectivity of news broadcasts. There is a consensus against too much violence. No more than 60% of the programs may be imported, but many areas of France can receive broadcasts from beyond its border.

Germany (West).

Following World War II, independent public broadcasting organizations were created in the various German Federal states. By 1950, there were nine organizations who formed a federation known as Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Offentlichrecthlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Association of Chartered Broadcasting Companies of the Federal Republic of Germany) or, more simply ARD. Later, a national radio and television service was added. ARD provides a national program with time slots for regional programming on two channels. The first channel broadcasts all over Germany on weekday afternoons from 4:00 to 11:00 p.m. (somewhat longer on weekends). Programming is general although there is a heavy emphasis on public information and news. Before the main news and until 8:00 p.m., advertising is restricted to an average of 20 minutes on weekdays or 25 minutes on any one day. The second channel, Zwites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF) is intended to provide contrasting programs. It is governed by a large Television Council on which the states and various public/political/social groups are represented. Broadcasting on the second channel is continuous from 4:30 p.m. until midnight on weekdays and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. The second channel is more dependent upon advertising for its revenue although advertising is restricted to 20 minutes between 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. The programming on the second channel is of a lighter nature than that of the first channel. Both channels combine to produce school programs broadcast in the morning. There is no censorship but programs which show violence in cruel or inhumane ways are not allowed. West Germany produces most of its own programs but also imports some from England and the United States.

Israel.

Television began in Israel in 1968 after a decade of discussion over fears that television would debase the culture. The major impetus for inaugurating broadcasting was the 1967 Six-Day War. It was felt that television might unify the Hebrew and Arabic groups. The Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA) is closely modeled on the British Broadcasting Corporation, although it is more closely tied to the government than is the case with the BBC. The IBA broadcasts on one channel for four hours per day starting at 6:30 p.m. There are three hours of Hebrew and one hour of Arabic broadcasting. There is no advertising allowed and

the IBA receives its financial support from license fees and government appropriations. About 50% of the programs are imported, mostly from the United States. The broadcasting law established the IBA as a national service and enjoined it to: "... broadcast educational, entertainment and informational programs in the field of politics, social life, economics, culture, science and art, with a view to: (a.) reflecting the life struggle, creative effort and achievements of the State; (b.) fostering good citizenship; (c.) strengthening ties with, and deepening the knowledge of the Jewish heritage and its values; (d.) reflecting the life and cultural assets of all sections of the people from different countries; (e.) broadening education and disseminating knowledge; (f.) reflecting the life of Diaspora Jewery; and (g.) furthering the aims of the State Education Law." (Shinar, 1972). There is a consensus against broadcasting "to much violence or sex." Programs such as *The Avengers* or *Mannix* were not allowed to be broadcast during the early 1970's but most of the formal controls are concerned with political and ideological matters (Shinar, 1972; Katz & Gurevitch, 1976).

Italy.

Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI) is a joint stock company which holds a monopoly on broadcasting. The government owns 92% of the shares and the balance is owned by an association of publishers, editors and writers. However, since 1974 when the Constitutional Court held that RAI's monopoly was unconstitutional, there has been a mushrooming of independent local television stations. In 1976, the Italian Government passed a law which prohibited advertising on the independent stations so the RAI control continues. There are two channels. Channel 1 broadcasts from 4:45 p.m. to midnight and Channel 2 operates from 7:00 to 11:00 p.m. RAI produces its own programs but also imports some series. The programming is general and morning is given over to school broadcasts. Both channels are partially supported by advertising but this is limited to 5% of all viewing times and programs are not allowed to be interrupted. An RAI subsidiary has exclusive control over all advertising, and a code prohibits advertising that is vulgar, violent or disgusting. Censorship is prohibited but research on televised violence has led to a reduction of the level of violence by sensitizing the producers to the effects of violence on viewers' behavior (Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1974; 1975).

Japan.

Television broadcasting began in Japan, in Tokyo, in 1953 and by 1957 local stations were established in many areas. The first broadcasts were transmitted by Nippon Hoso Kyokai, the Japan Broadcasting Company (NHK), in February 1953, and were followed six months later by the inauguration of "street corner" television by the Nippon Television Network (NTV)—NTV installed television sets in shrine compounds and plazas in front of railway stations in an effort to encourage viewing. NHK is a government-owned public body modeled along the lines of the BBC, whereas NTV is a collection of private commercial stations. At the start of broadcasting, NHK operated 32 stations while the commercial broadcasting system operated through 27 stations owned by 23 companies. The length of the broadcast day was limited to about 11 hours for NHK and eight hours for the commercial stations. During the period 1962 to 1964, both government and commercial stations moved to a full-day (18 hours) broadcasting. The growth of stations continued to expand and by 1974, there were 1896 NHK stations and 1611 commercial stations which were owned by 88 companies (NHK, 1976; Furu, 1971). Criticism of violence, sex, and vulgarity began with the advent of broadcasting, but high levels of violence continue to be broadcast on commercial television (Iwao, Hagiwara, & deS Pool, 1978).

Norway.

Norway began television broadcasting in 1960, and is controlled by Norsk Rikskringkasting (NKR), an independent public body. There is no advertising on television. There is one channel and viewing time is restricted to about 50 hours per week. Daytime television consists of school programs and evening

programming includes a large proportion of concerts, ballet, opera, news and sports programs. There is no written policy about televised violence, but there are strong 'in-house' prohibitions against broadcasting violent programs. NKR produces about 50% of its programming and the remainder is imported mostly from England, via Eurovision or Nordvision. Most areas of the country can also receive television signals from Sweden and Denmark (Werner, 1971).

Poland.

Television broadcasting began in 1954 and Ploskie Radio i Telewizja (PRT) operates on one channel from 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. and from 4:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. The morning programs are school broadcasts and the evening broadcasts consist of general entertainment. A second channel began operation in 1970 and reaches 50% of the population. Channel 2 broadcasts about 22 hours per week and caters to special topics such as science, fine arts, technology, experimental theater, and foreign languages. PRT is state-owned and by law it may not criticize the system of government, disclose state secrets, damage international relations, induce violations of law and order or publish inaccurate information. PRT produces about 82% of its own programs and foreign series are often rejected on the grounds of too much violence or sex. There is very little advertising on Polish television.

Sweden.

Television broadcasting began in 1956 and a second channel was opened in 1969. Both channels operate within a monopoly corporation, Sveriges Radio (SR), which is an independent public company that coordinates the channels' programming. There is no advertising and the Broadcast Act requires that the broadcasting service be impartial and objective and satisfy a broad range of tastes. SR produces about 60% of its programming and the remainder is imported mainly from England. The two channels provide about 100 hours of programs per week. Daytime viewing is largely devoted to educational programming while general programs are provided during the late afternoon and evening (transmission ends around 10:00 p.m.). TV1 programs are devoted to religion, science, nature, music, arts, and literature, while TV2 carries programs on political and social issues and films. There are prohibitions against televised violence and violence must not be used as a diversion or to attract wider audiences. There are virtually no Westerns or crime/action-adventure programs on Swedish television (von Feilitzen, Filipson & Schyller, 1979).

Switzerland.

Television broadcasting is under the control of a private company licensed by the government as the sole broadcaster. The Societe Suisse de Radiodiffusion et Television/Schweizerisch Radio-und Fernsehengesellschaft (SSR/SRG) operates three channels in the three official languages of French, German and Italian (in addition the German channel carries programs in Romansch). The three channels develop their own programming, but there is coordination provided by the Central Committee which acts in consultation with the General Assembly of 103 persons who represent regional interests. The SSR/SRG operates on money generated by license fees and advertising revenue. Advertising has been allowed on television since 1965 and is limited to 20 minutes per weekday. There are no commercials for alcohol, drugs or tobacco. Controls on program content include a ban on any programming that "might give rise to prejudice, intolerance, violence or hatred." In 1972 the Director General requested a survey of research on the impact of televised violence. As a result of this review, the company issued a directive warning producers to be sensitive to the impact of violence in material shown when children are likely to be in the audience, that is before 9:00 p.m. (Prix Jeunesse, 1976; Schwizerisch Radio-und Fernsehengesellschaft, 1974).

United Kingdom.

Television began in England in 1936 under the control of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The BBC is a public, independent body which operates two channels, BBC1 and BBC2. A third channel

became operative in 1954 under the control of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA). The IBA has the responsibility to build, own and operate transmission facilities, and to control the programming and advertising that it transmits. The IBA programs are produced by 15 independent companies. The BBC is financed by license fees and carries no advertising, whereas the IBA derives its income from advertising. Commercials on the IBA appear in three short intervals per hour and may not exceed six minutes per hour over the day. BBC1 broadcasts for 82 hours per week while BBC2, which caters to minority interests, is on for about 42 hours per week. Both BBC channels provide information, education and entertainment programs that have been described by the first director general as "the least worst television in the world." The IBA usually carries programs of a lighter nature than the BBC. Since the early 1960's there has been much discussion and debate on the social effects of television and many research committees have examined the various effects, including violence (Katz, 1977, United Kingdom, the Annan Committee, 1977). The general policy concerning the broadcasting of televised violence is that the aim of television should be to sharpen rather than blunt the human sensitivities of the viewer. Moreover, a recent Royal Command Paper on broadcasting has stated the official government position on televised violence as follows: "... the Government is in no doubt that the only safe course is for the broadcasting authorities to assume undesirable effects unless convincing evidence to the contrary emerges." (United Kingdom, Home Office, 1978).

United States.

Broadcasting began in the United States, on a limited basis, in 1939 and full broadcasting commenced in 1941. The major American television broadcasters are the three commercial networks: American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). These three networks own 15 individually licensed stations but they exert an influence on an additional 685 primary or secondary affiliated stations. The revenue for all of these commercial stations is entirely based upon the sale of advertising. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is the government regulatory agency which controls the licensing of individual stations. The FCC has set guidelines on the amount of broadcast time allocated to advertising (18 minutes per hour) and the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) has recommended 9.5 minutes per hour in prime-time and 16 minutes per hour at other times. In the special case of children's programming (programs designed for viewers under the age of 12) the NAB guidelines allow 9.5 minutes per hour on Saturday and Sunday and 12 minutes per hour during such programming on Monday through Friday (National Association of Broadcasters, 1978).

In 1967, Congress established the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) as an independent public agency supported by government appropriations. The CPB does not produce or transmit programs but rather, provides financial and technical resources for individual public, non-profit stations or their representative network, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). The PBS commissions, produces and distributes programs to the 242 non-commercial stations. These stations are owned and operated by a variety of agencies: universities (35%), state or municipal school systems (30%) and community foundations (35%). These public stations are affiliated with the PBS by paying dues based upon their annual budgets and the size of their transmission area (Blakely, 1971). There is no advertising on public television (except for foundation or grant credit-line acknowledgments).

There is a long history of concern about the effects of televised violence and children's viewing (Murray, 1980a; Murray, 1980b; in press) is probably related to the fact that American television contains one of the highest levels of violence of any countries for which data are available (cf Gerner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980). The debate about violence began in the 1950's with a series of Congressional hearings on the role of the media in juvenile delinquency (United States Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1955). The debate continued in the 1960's with the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Baker & Ball, 1969); through the 1970's with the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior report and aftermath (Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, 1972; Murray, 1973; 1980a; 1980b; Cater & Strickland, 1975); and into the

1980's with the ten-year follow-up to the Surgeon General's report (Pearl, Bouthilet & Lazar, 1980). And, the debate about general program content and advertising regulation continues at the Federal Communications Commission (1979; 1980) and the Federal Trade Commission (1978).

Of Programs and Policies.

The picture of the nature of television and the context in which one may view the concern about the major issues of children's television—violence and advertising—can be summarized in terms of the historical and geographical influences that have shaped the broadcasting systems in the countries described above.

In the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, television is controlled by governments which hold a monopoly on broadcasting. There is no advertising and television broadcast time is generally restricted to about 50 hours per week. There is a strong emphasis on educational and informational programs and a consistently high standard of quality entertainment programs. In Finland, a similar picture emerges, although there is a mixed media ownership, both private and government, and limited advertising is allowed.

In the Western European countries, Austria, France, Italy, Switzerland and West Germany, there is monopoly control of television by either government-licensed private companies, as in Switzerland, or by government-funded independent broadcast authorities. Broadcast time in these systems is generally restricted to about 70 hours per week and morning broadcasts are devoted to educational and school programs. In some cases there is very limited advertising while in other cases more time is devoted to advertising, but none of these broadcasting systems is very dependent upon revenue from advertising. The programming appears to be slightly 'lighter' than that in the Scandinavian countries, but in each country there is special attention given to minority audiences and informational and educational programs.

In the only Eastern European country examined, Poland, the picture is similar to that of the Scanadinavian countries. In Poland, there is a government monopoly and there is very limited advertising. The broadcast week is restricted to approximately 50 hours on one channel and the second channel, which is devoted to minority interests and cultural and educational programs, is restricted to 22 hours per week.

Israel, the only Middle Eastern country examined, has a broadcast structure which is modeled on the BBC but is similar in operation to the Scandinavian countries in that there is limited broadcast time (about 30 hours per week) and there is no advertising on television.

In all of the broadcast systems in the countries described thus far, there are only one or two channels available (with the exception of France with three channels) and broadcast time is somewhat restricted. However, when one turns to the United Kingdom there is a marked change in the nature of television. In England, there is no monopolistic ownership of television broadcasting. Of the three channels, two are publicly owned and the third is commercially operated. The average viewing time available is longer in England than in the other countries previously described (broadcasting time is about 90 hours per week). Moreover, while the BBC carries educational, information and quality entertainment programs, the IBA network generally broadcasts lighter fare.

In three other countries, which share some political/cultural characteristics with England—Australia, Canada, and the United States—again there is no monopoly ownership of television. However, in these countries there is a much heavier emphasis on commercial broadcasting than is the case in England. All three countries broadcast more hours per week on more channels than any of the previously described systems. Furthermore, the commercial stations in these countries carry more advertising than many of the other countries (e.g., potential advertising in prime/other time periods: Australia, 11/13 mins./hr.; Canada, 12 mins./hr.; United States 9.5/16 mins./hr.). As both Australia and Canada import many of their programs from the United States, there is great similarity in the programming available in all three countries. In general, it would be fair to say that, although all three countries have a public, government-supported, television system, the national television character is primarily distinguished by the commercial television systems which broadcast programming of less 'heavy' type than that found in any of the other countries

previously described.

At this point, one might ask: Is there any relationship between these various broadcasting structures and the nature of the issues raised about children's television? The answer is: Emphatically yes. The overriding issue in countries where the broadcasting structure is based upon advertising revenues is the quantity and the quality of programming available to children. This is so for several reasons. Chief among the causes for concern is the need of the commercial television system to generate revenue through programming which attracts large heterogeneous audiences. In such systems, the broadcaster is caught in the dilemma of providing programs for a diverse audience, at reasonable cost, with a reasonable return on the investment. Some media watchers such as George Comstock (1980) have charged that this is the major flaw in the American broadcasting structure: "... television is largely entertainment designed with the motive of assembling as many viewers of commercial interest to advertisers as possible. No other aspiration, restraint, or inhibition significantly affects the process of program design." Industry representatives such as NBC's Ronald Milavsky (1980) have countered by charging that Comstock has oversimplified the issue and that the industry "genuinely aspires to be a mass medium." Milavsky notes that the present American television system is a direct result of the Federal Communications Act of 1934 which "... consciously and deliberately intended to ensure that broadcasting be free of governmental influence. That is why it is totally dependent on advertiser revenue, as opposed to direct taxes or license fees." In passing one cannot avoid the observation that Milavsky leans toward oversimplification—just as there is no such thing as a *Free Lunch*, there is no such thing as *Free TV*. As George Gerbner (1980) has remarked: "The advertising subsidy that supports and guides the cultural industry is extracted through a levy on the price of all advertised goods and services. Some call this private taxation without representation. The tax is hidden in the price of soap; I pay when I wash, not when I watch..." And there's the rub (no pun intended)—a commercial television structure dependent upon mass audiences seems unable to provide adequate and necessary programming for small but important audiences. Or can it?

Can it? Does it? Obviously, there are two rather different sorts of questions and both need to be answered before one can formulate some suggestions for modifying the structure of children's television.

With regard to the question—Do the public and commercial broadcasting systems provide significantly different types of programming?—the answer seems to be a resounding "Yes." As an example, let us review one week of broadcasting on public and commercial stations in England, Australia, and the United States. The information displayed in Table 1 is illuminating because it confirms the long-held suspicion that those who are small—in number or stature—are ill-served by commercial television. And, while this is a truism across the three continents, it is less true in England. If we add the two categories of Education and Children's Programs for each station in each country we find that the public station in Australia devotes 47% of its weekly broadcast time to educational and children's shows in contrast to only 8% on the commercial station. Similarly, in the United States the public station commits 53% of its time to children's/educational programs compared with only 6% on its commercial counterpart. In England, BBC1 devotes 34% and BBC2 adds 36% of their broadcasting time to the children's and educational areas, but the commercial station also devotes more than 20% to these areas.

Why is there this 'continental drift' between the public and commercial stations in the United States and Australia in contrast to the more complimentary relationship between the public and commercial systems in England? One possible answer lies in the developmental history of the three systems. In England, television broadcasting began as a public instrumentality devoted to public rather than private service. It was only many years later that the commercial system, the IBA, came into being. By that time, the notion that the nation's screens should carry substance in addition to soap had become firmly implanted in the minds of the British viewer. Not so in the West or the South. In the New and Antipodean worlds the commercial system was the dominant force in determining the nature of television programming. The result is a television environment in these United States and Australia which is less than optimal for the developing child.

It would seem that the battle between broadcasters and public action groups is stalemated. On the one

One Week of Public and Commercial Television Programming in England, Australia, and the United States:[a]

Program Category	ENGLAND[b]		AUSTRALIA[c]		UNITED STATES[d]	
	Public	Public	Commercial	Public	Commercial	Public	Commercial
News & Public Affairs	24.5	12.0	13.0	13.8	5.2	22.5	14.0
Features & Documentaries	6.5	20.0	6.3	8.1	2.1	6.0	.5
Education	23.0	29.5	12.5	26.3	.4	26.0	2.0
Arts & Music	1.0	2.5	—	2.1	—	5.0	—
Children's Programs	11.5	6.5	8.0	20.8	7.5	27.0	4.0
Drama (plays)	4.5	4.5	3.1	2.8	—	—	—
Drama (series/serials)	7.0	4.0	16.6	9.8	24.5	5.0	17.0
Movies	6.5	11.0	12.0	3.2	33.3	5.5	18.0
General Entertainment	7.5	7.5	9.5	3.8	17.8	—	24.5
Sports	6.0	1.5	6.2	8.4	6.1	2.0	4.5
Religion	1.0	—	.6	1.1	3.0	—	.5

NOTES:
[a]Sources: Williams (1974); Kippax & Murray (1979).
[b]Data collected in March, 1973. The public channels are BBC-1 and BBC-2. The commercial channel is Anglia.
[c]Data collected in April, 1978. The public station is ABC-2. The commercial station is TEN-10. Both stations are located in Sydney.
[d]Data collected in March, 1973. The public station is KQED. The commercial station is Channel 7. Both stations are located in San Francisco.

Table 2:
One Week of Public and Commercial Television Programming in England, Australia and the United States.

hand various citizen groups have been increasingly vocal in pressing their demands for more, as well as more specialized, programs for children. Broadcasters, for their part, insist that children's programming is expensive and, because of the relatively specialized audiences, not attractive to advertisers. On the other hand, we have the evidence presented in Table 2, that in the absence of pressure to obtain advertisers for particular programs, the constraints on the production of children's educational programming are moderated. This leads to the inescapable conclusion that one way out of the current stalemate is to reduce the pressure that market forces seem to exert on the nature of children's television. Some suggestions for advancing this goal will be outlined in the concluding section on "Public Policy and Private Action" but it should be noted that this goal need not endanger the viability of commercial stations (Pearce, 1974).

Public Policy & Private Action

What should be done about children's television? The answer to this question will depend upon one's personal and professional identification with the various positions represented in the debate that has raged for 25 years. One of the core issues has been the social policy implications of extensive research on the impact of televised violence. Indeed, this particular controversy qualifies as the "longest running soap opera in the social sciences." Although televised violence has been the pre-eminent issue, recent times have seen the rise of other hotly debated issues such as the propriety of television advertising directed to children, sexual and ethnic role stereotyping, and the broad influence of television viewing on children's intellectual and social development. Many of these concerns arise from the nature of the broadcasting system and some of the solutions will require consideration of some structural modifications of children's television. In this section, we will explore these possible directions for public policy and private action.

Public and Private Concerns

It seems clear, from the accumulated research and commentary, that the advent of television has resulted in experiences for the young viewer that are both worthwhile and worrisome. On the one hand, television has expanded the range of information and entertainment available to children and stimulated interest in issues and topics that the child might never encounter in daily life. On the other hand, many critics have charged that these worthwhile experiences have been accompanied by the worrisome influences of televised violence, advertising, and role stereotypes which might give rise to values and behavior patterns that conflict with those deemed acceptable in contemporary society.

One of the earliest concerns, and a continuing worry, was the amount of time that children devote to television. The specific worry was the belief that television viewing would take time away from other, more worthwhile, activities. It is true that children watch a considerable amount of television and that their viewing has increased during recent years. For example, two national surveys of children aged between 7 and 11 years, conducted in the mid-1960's and the mid-1970's, demonstrate clear increases in the amount of time these youngsters spend with television (Peterson & Zill, 1980). The first study was the Health Examination Survey, conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics during the period 1963–65. The second study was the National Survey of Children, conducted by the Foundation for Child Development in 1976. Comparing the two survey results we find that in the mid-1960's 12% of the children did not watch any television but by the mid-1970's only 3% of the children were nonviewers. Although the average viewing time is about two hours per day, the percentage of youngsters who watch *more than three hours per day* jumped from 17% in the mid-1960's to 29% in the mid-1970's.

With more than one-quarter of the young school-age children spending more than one-quarter of their normal waking hours sitting in front of the television set, one begins to grasp the scope of television's potential influence. In this regard, the Foundation for Child Development survey attempted to assess some broad aspects of television's involvement in the child's social and intellectual development. Although the investigators were unable to assess the specific effects of particular program content, they did find that the heavy television viewers scored higher than the light viewers on measures of antisocial activity (e.g. lying, fighting, cheating), parental reports of misbehavior, and hyperactivity. The heavy viewers scored lowest on measures of vocabulary and parental reports of school adjustment. With regard to children's fears about crime and violence—the "mean world syndrome" described in our earlier section on Role Portrayals: Television as Reality—there was a clear, though moderate, relationship between the amount of viewing and fear of crime; children who were heavy viewers, regardless of their backgrounds, were more fearful of the mean world.

Although many of the detrimental findings in the Foundation for Child Development study were moderate, and some were related to the child's real world social experience, the authors conclude: ". . . it is clear that no evidence in these analyses points toward positive effects [of television viewing]. This is in contrast with reading, for example, which relates strongly and positively to measures of intellectual function-

ing, among others. At best then, time viewing television may, on the average, be viewed as 'empty time'. It is time spent doing something which appears to have no beneficial effects and may have some mild detrimental effects. But more importantly, it is time not spent in activities which do relate strongly and positively to child development." (Peterson & Zill, 1980, p. 13–14.)

Thus, the sheer amount of time devoted to television during the early years of the developing child can be worrisome in itself but one can raise even more important questions about the specific impact of the particular content viewed. We have provided a detailed description of the impact of televised violence, advertising and role stereotypes in earlier sections of this report but it is worthwhile to pause and reflect on the cumulative evidence on one of these issues, once again. In this instance, let us select the area which has received the most intensive scrutiny—violence. In the earlier section on television violence we noted a review of relevant studies, conducted by Andison (1977), in which he found that the majority of the 67 studies reviewed indicated that viewing televised violence was related to or caused the viewer's aggressive behavior. A more recent, and more ambitious, study by Hearold has pooled the evidence from 230 studies (see, Hearold, 1979; Comstock, 1980b). The cumulation of evidence in Hearold's review rests upon information obtained from more than 100,000 participants, males and females, of varying ages and life circumstances. The Meta-analysis of these research findings points to the clear and inescapable conclusion that televised violence can directly influence the viewer's behavior be they young or old, advantaged or disadvantaged, male or female. But, to end on a brighter note, Hearold's analysis also suggests that "prosocial programming"—that designed to enlighten, enliven, inform, and stimulate harmony rather than discord—is also effective. Thus, concern about televised violence becomes a concern about the balance of programming and the *large messages* portrayed on the *small screen*.

Actions and Reactions

What should be done? What can be done? Both questions are important and the answers to either could have a significant impact on the role that television plays in our children's lives. The difference between the two questions is the time-honored difference between the ideal and the real, the preferred and the pragmatic. However, there is another difference implied by the should vs. can and that is the difference in the focus of action and the locus of control. There is a sense in which answers to the "should" question imply the determination of values and policies contingent upon the involvement of many "actors" in this drama (e.g., broadcasters, public and government). On the other hand, answers to the "can" question might involve a smaller group of participants and more localized actions. Hence, the differences between Public Policy and Private Action are reflected not only in the answers given but in the nature of the questions asked.

Public Policy

If we start with the broader "should" question, one might, for example, inquire about the pervasive violence portrayed on American television screens. Gerbner's (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signoreilli, 1980) 13 years of monitoring television, as discussed in an earlier section of this report, amply document the intensive and extensive nature of televised violence. Moreover, the research which links violence on the screen to violence in society makes one less than sanguine about the sanguinary character of prime-time television. And, the fact that the levels of televised violence have been fairly stable over the past 13 years despite various Presidential, Congressional, and Health investigations (e.g., Baker & Ball, 1969; United States Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1956; United States Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, 1972) makes one less than sanguine about the prospects for change without some basic structural changes.

Comstock (1980) has argued that the only goal of the commercial television system is the construction of the largest possible audience for any particular program in the hope that this would attract the greatest possible revenue from potential advertisers. Industry representatives (Milavsky, 1980) have charged that this is an exaggeration but none have denied that this is an essential ingredient in program policy. Given this

stated goal of maximizing audience size, and the fact that fast action/pace will hold audience attention (cf. the earlier section on Understanding Television), it is reasonable to expect that violence might be the staple fare of prime-time commercial television. If this is true, what then are the policy implications of this interlocking set of research findings?

One rather clear implication of the issues discussed above is that changes in the rate and prevalence of televised violence could be brought about by changes in policy enacted by the television networks and encouraged by industry representatives (such as the National Association of Broadcasters). The issue of television violence is an example of a topic that must be addressed on the broader "public policy" level rather than in the area of "private action" because such programming affects more than the individual viewer. And, voluntary industry guidelines would seem preferable to government regulation formulated on the basis of protection of the public interest. However, failure by the industry to act on such issues would invite regulatory action such as that proposed by the Federal Trade Commission (1978). In that instance, the FIC was concerned about the deception involved in advertising directed to children but it stated, as part of the legal opinion permitting the FTC to contemplate restructions, that children are accorded special protection under law and thus speech/advertising directed to children may not be granted constitutional guarantees under the First Amendment (cf., United States Federal Trade Commission, 1978, Rice & Keller, 1979; Thain, 1976; Trauth & Huffman, 1980). The Federal Communications Commission is aware of similar available remedies (United States Federal Communications Commission, 1974; Action for Children's Television, 1975) if it wished to institute some broad changes in children's television.

In the preceding section on "The Structure of Children's Television", it was suggested that there is a link between the need of the commercial television system to maximize its profit by maximizing audience size and the resultant quantity and quality of children's television programs. In general, the commercial television system is not able to provide quality programming for small audiences because such programming is expensive and not profitable. Critics, such as Action for Children's Television (1971; 1975; 1978) have charged that this unprofitable programming is part of the "price" each station should pay in return for the grant of a broadcasting license. For its part, the industry claims that children are an important and special audience but the costs of providing the recommended programming are prohibitive. At this point, it would seem that "public policy" is stalemated. However, there are some possible resolutions of this dilemma but they involve some basic structural changes in the nature of children's television.

Given the link between profit and programming, one way in which children's television could be enhanced would be the removal of the economic pressures on programming in this sensitive area. By removing the requirement that each and every program must "pay-its-way" through advertising, broadcasters would be enabled to provide specialized programming for small but important audiences. The encapsulation of the economic pressures on broadcasting in this area would have a liberating effect on the structure of children's television. Just how this enhancement of children's television should be accomplished has been the subject of considerable debate. Proposals have ranged from the establishment of a national endowment for children's broadcasting (Van Dyck, 1977), to an expanded role for in-school television production houses such as the Agency for Instructional Television (Mielke, 1977), to the development of production resource centers (Beatty & Beatty, 1980), to regulatory intervention to establish quotas for children's television (Action for Children's Television, 1978b). Full details of these proposals are contained in the reports cited above, but the point to be made here is the fact that the present structure of children's television is ill-suited to the task of fostering the social and emotional development of young viewers. And, the prospect of a "new season" is not bright unless, and until, some profound modifications are undertaken which would remove the economic constraints of the mass market from the domain children's television.

Private Action

The actions that individuals can undertake in relation to children's television are of two types: Actions concerning the viewing patterns of one's own family; and collective activities through various citizen groups.

The first category of action, family viewing patterns, includes the requirement that parents become aware of their children's viewing habits. This awareness is absolutely essential if parents wish to establish any form of dialogue with their children concerning the role that television plays in the young person's life. To begin the dialogue, the family might explore what they have learned about various institutions and aspects of society from watching television. What do we know about various social issues, what have we learned about the nature of crime, the roles of men and women, the activities of teachers, doctors, police, as a result of television viewing? If, as a result of this exploration, parents are concerned about their child's viewing patterns, one suggestion is to set limits on the *total time* children spend with television (rather than institute prohibitions against specific programming). The advantages of restricting total time are four-fold: a.) it obviously reduces the amount of viewing; b.) given the restricted amount of time, the child must make choices among competing programs; (c.) this strategy avoids censorship of program content; and d.) as a result, the child will become a much more discriminating viewer.

The second category of private action would involve parents and children in cooperative actions with other families and various public service groups. For example, parents might consider joining local branches of consumer groups such as Action for Children's Television. Also, parents might inquire about the availability of courses in "critical television viewing skills." These critical viewing courses have been developed by educators and television producers at several universities and public television stations under Federal education grants. As a result, curricula have been developed for children in the elementary, middle, and high school grades, as well as a separate program for adults (cf., Corder-Bolz, 1980; Bilowit & Ganck, 1980). Other groups and programs designed to enhance children's and parents' understanding of television include NBC's Parent Participation Workshops, the school-based Teacher Guides to Television organized by the Television Information Office of the National Association of Broadcasters, and the Media Action Research Center's Television-Awareness-Training program (cf., Moody, 1980). Many of these activities and programs are already available in larger communities and could be organized by parent groups in other locales.

Public Policy and Private Action?

It seems evident that there are grounds for serious concern about the role that television plays in children's lives. These concerns cover a broad spectrum of issues ranging from the sheer amount of time that children spend with the television set, to more focused concerns about the impact of particular content such as advertising and violence. This report has attempted to identify and interpret relevant research findings which would assist our understanding of these public and private concerns about television. And, in this concluding section, we have tried to identify some possible directions for public policy and private action. Implementation of these suggestions awaits the action of those persons most directly involved in these issues: Broadcasters, legislators, persons interested in child development, and, most of all, parents and children.

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PART II

Master Bibliography: 1955 to the Present.

Using the Bibliographies

The bibliographies contained in Parts II and III are presented in a manner which, it is hoped, will maximize utility while minimizing space. The three thousand citations comprising the Master Bibliography are presented with full bibliographic information and a "key" line which indicates the Specialized Bibliographies under which that report will be found. In the Specialized Bibliography sections, only the author and date of publication have been reproduced in order to conserve space for the 9000 entries. The classification system employed and the data base for the Master Bibliography are described below.

Classification Scheme

Each report in the Master Bibliography was classified, on the basis of its primary content, into one or more of the 13 categories which comprise the Specialized Bibliographies. Accordingly, the final line of each entry in the Master Bibliography consists of several abbreviations which refer to the Specialized Bibliographies contained in Part III. Each "key line" begins with the year of publication followed by one or more abbreviations. For example, the first entry is "Able, J. D." and the key line is: 69, R, E, V, B, A/V(a). The classification of this report is as follows: the article was published in 1969; the content deals with Role Portrayals: Television as Reality (R), Educational Television and Cognitive Development (E), Violence and its Effects (V), Bibliographies (B), and Audience Patterns and Viewing Processes—Audience Patterns A/V(a). A complete list of the code, title, and description of the 13 categories is presented below.

V — *Violence and its Effects.* Any document that deals with the impact of television or film violence on young viewers.

P — *Prosocial Effects.* Documents dealing with the influence of "prosocial" programming (i.e., programs designed to increase positive behavior such as helping, sharing, or cooperation).

S — *Socialization: Political, General.* Articles concerned with the impact of television on children's political knowledge and/or broad social development.

A — *Television Advertising and Consumer Response.* Any report which deals with the impact of television advertising.

R — *Role Portrayals: Television as Reality.* Reports dealing with children's understanding of social, sexual and ethnic roles in relation to their television viewing; cultivation analysis/content analyses of child and adult television programming; and the child's conception of television as real or fanciful.

E — *Educational Television and Cognitive Development.* Reports concerned with programming designed to be used in schools or specifically designed to influence understanding of an issue/task thereby facilitating general development of cognitive skills.

A/V(a) — *Audience Patterns and Viewing Processes—Audience Patterns.* Reports concerned with factors affecting audience size or composition.

A/V(v) — *Audience Patterns and Viewing Processes—Viewing Processes.* Articles that deal with factors affecting attention to/retention of program content, the role of the viewer as active or passive participant in the viewing process, and the development of media literacy.

P/A(c) — *Public Policy and Private Action—Commentary by Critics and Fans.* Any report which provides a review, critique or "fair comment" on the role that television plays in the lives of young viewers.

P/A(p) — *Public Policy and Private Action—Suggestions for Policy.* Any report that includes specific recommendations/suggestions for the role that television should/could/would play in children's lives.

P/A(a) — *Public Policy and Private Action—Guidelines for Action.* Reports that indicate how one might get from (c) through (p) and live to tell about it; examples of model programming; ways to use television constructively.

B *Bibliographies.* Reports that contain a substantial section devoted to a listing of references relevant to the topic of television and youth.

YEAR *Recent Reports.* A compilation of all reports published/written from 1975 to the present.

It can be noted that these 13 categories are not mutually exclusive. To some extent, there is overlap in the content of various categories such as that covered by the categories E and A/V(v). In addition, any given report may cover issues that are relevant to several categories. In both instances, such reports will carry multiple classifications. In this way, it is hoped that the overlap will not be overlooked, but used to provide a richer accounting of the content of the report.

Data Base

The Master Bibliography was assembled from a comprehensive search of major data bases such as *Psychological Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, ERIC, Child Development Abstracts, Social Science Index* and *Dissertation Abstracts* for periods extending back through the 1960's where possible. In addition, previous bibliographies were scanned for relevant citations. Chief among these bibliographies were the compilations of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior (Atkin, Murray & Nayman, 1971; and Murray, Nayman & Atkin, 1972), The Rand Corporation (Comstock, 1975; Comstock & Fisher, 1975; and Comstock & Lindsey, 1975); the International Association for Mass Communication Research (Halloran, 1976); and the specialized bibliography on advertising prepared by the Council of Better Business Bureaux (Meringoff, 1980). A complete list of relevant bibliographies appears in Part IV. These formal search techniques were supplemented by informal contacts with colleagues who are active contributors to the field, attendance at relevant conferences and meetings, and a systematic review of recent professional publications. Following some last-minute additions, the Master Bibliography was "sealed" at the end of October. It is very likely that some relevant publications will have escaped the net and, as this volume goes to press, important new reports are being published. Indeed, one colleague observed: "no bibliography is ever *complete*"—but to lift a phrase from a beloved television journalist: "... that's the way it is Friday, October 31st, 1980..."

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PART IV

Hither, Thither, & Yon.

Hither, Thither & Yon

In order to facilitate a review of previous research and commentary as a launching point for further efforts, Part IV has been designed to present the full bibliographic citations for three of the 13 specialized bibliographies: Public Policy and Private Action: Suggestions for Policy; Public Policy and Private Action: Guidelines for Action; and Bibliographies. It was felt that these three sections provide a core overview of the history of concern about the issue of television and youth. If one wishes to plan for the future, one must be aware, and wary, of the past. It is evident, in scanning the literature on public policy and private action, that there is an abrupt change when one moves from the area of "commentary"—by either critics or fans—to the arena of policy and action. One aspect of this difference is the simple volume of available literature; in the present review there are approximately 900 reports that qualify for the designation "commentary" but only about 300 contain policy and/or action components. Nevertheless, the need for consideration of alternatives to the current structure of children's television has never been more pressing. Hopefully, this collection of the past will inform the future.

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